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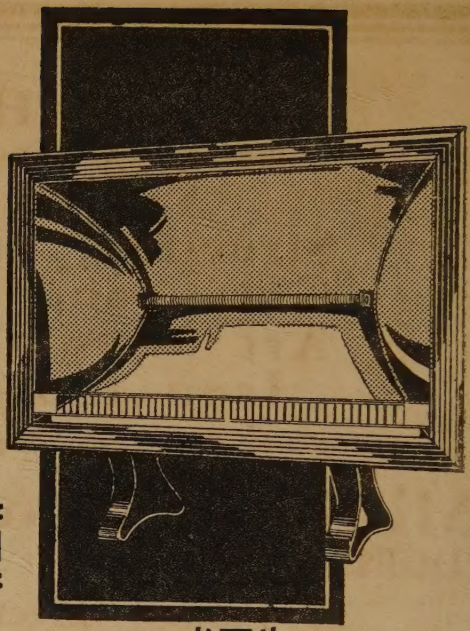

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THE SWEEP AND THE SLUMS

BY FERGAL MCGRATH, S.J.

DURING the past year an immense amount has been said both publicly and privately all over Ireland, but especially in Dublin, about the housing of the poor. When it is all reviewed, the conclusion is that there are only two things worth saying about the problem. One is a statement : it ought to be solved at once. The other, unfortunately, still remains a question : where is the money to come from ? And the statement is so utterly dependent for its realisation upon the answer to the question that one may say that this question embodies the root problem of the housing shortage. This fundamental financial aspect is a common feature of the housing problem everywhere. I have just been studying some of the literature issued by the *Verband Wohnungsbau*, a large Catholic organisation in München-Gladbach which devotes itself to both the theoretical and practical sides of housing in Germany, and I find at the end of every suggestion made the familiar refrain : where is the money to come from ? I grant that there are many important secondary problems—the type of building, the question of building on virgin soil or clearing slum areas, and the very important one of building costs. But even those who hold that drastic measures should be taken to reduce building costs will agree that in any event a very large sum of money must be found with which to carry out such a gigantic task as the building of the thousands of dwellings required.

In what follows I have chiefly in view the housing problem as it exists in Dublin, because my knowledge of it is first-hand ; but I am quite alive to the fact that that problem exists all over Ireland. There is no reason why the rest of Ireland should not benefit by the suggestion I have to make, should it prove fruitful.

Turning then to Dublin we find that both the Government and the Corporation, no less than the Opposition parties, are undoubtedly alive to the magnitude and importance of the problem; but it would be a fallacy to think that their anxiety to solve it is going to create money. During the year the attention of the public was constantly focussed on the housing problem by innumerable meetings and press letters, and very notably by the reported deliberations of the Trades' Union Congress at Waterford. Finally there has come the introduction of the new Bill and the announcement of the intended loan of a million pounds to be raised by the Corporation. It is quite possible that these two events will create in the mind of the ordinary man the impression that the problem is solved. This would be quite false. The Bill cannot create money; all it can do is to determine what proportion of the burden should be borne by the Government and the local authorities respectively, and by pledging the Government's credit, to enable the local authorities to borrow on more favourable terms. The official forecast given to the Press on August 25th last mentioned for Dublin alone the spending of £1,000,000 p.a. for five years, roughly 2,000 dwellings (flats) a year to be built until a total of 10,000 is reached. This is a praiseworthy vision; but, even allowing for State contributions towards the loan charges and for the growing return from the rents of the dwellings, it may be fairly said that the borrowing of a million a year for five years is not going to be an easy task for the Corporation. What a jump in expenditure is going to be involved may be judged by the fact that during the past nine years the average amount spent by the Government and local authorities combined was only about £500,000 p.a. for the entire Saorstát. Now £1,000,000 p.a. is to be spent on Dublin alone. In addition it hardly seems necessary to labour the point that the floating of very large loans is an expensive way of raising money.

It must also be noticed that though these 10,000 flats would go a long way towards solving the problem, they would by no means solve it completely. The memorandum of the Civics Institute presented to the Government last August mentioned 18,000 as the number of dwellings required. The Civics Institute was, of course, merely acting as a private body, but its estimate is borne out by the fact that the number of families living in one-room tenements, as given in the last Census, was 23,655. About 13,000 of these consisted of only 1, 2 or 3 persons. So the 10,000 proposed flats would simply provide for those families living 4 or more in a room, and would make no provision at all for the rest of the one-room, not to mention any of the two-room tenement dwellers. Some of these, however, would no doubt benefit by the reconditioning which is also mentioned in the forecast, but it would have to be done on a vast scale to produce any appreciable effect.

All this is said not by any means to belittle the proposed scheme, but to make it clear that the housing problem, though tackled, is far from solved. All those concerned are still appalled by the magnitude of it. The position may be summed up thus. Firstly, this scheme is for Dublin only and takes no consideration of the housing want in other parts of the Saorstát. Secondly, even if the present scheme for Dublin is pushed through fully, it will remedy only the worst features of the problem, whilst many thousands even of the families whom it is intended to benefit will have to wait another five years for their flats and bring up their children in the same miserable surroundings. Finally the whole scheme is dependent on the ability of the Corporation, with Government backing, to borrow a million a year for five years at a reasonable rate.

In view of all this it seems strange that public attention has not been more persistently drawn to a source of funds which is in our midst, and which, I think, could

be diverted without injustice to anyone to the solution of this life and death problem. I refer to the money now being handed over to the hospitals by the Hospitals' Trust Ltd. as the result of the various sweepstakes. I can recall having seen only one suggestion in print to this effect, though the proposal has doubtless been widely discussed in private. It would, of course, require fresh legislation if it were put into force before the expiration of the three years provided by the Act of 1930, and to my mind, if adopted at all, it should be adopted at once, or at latest after the next sweepstake on the Grand National. The sum involved, if the three Sweepstakes a year continued as successfully as at present, would be roughly £2,000,000 a year, representing 4,500 of the dwellings proposed in the Dublin scheme.

Full provision could be made, of course, to secure that those hospitals which have only lately benefited by the Sweepstake should not be unduly penalised. Grants might be continued to them even if the bulk of the money were diverted to housing. Further, as I said at the outset, I shall make reference chiefly to Dublin, because my knowledge of conditions there is first-hand, but there is no reason why other parts of the country should not benefit. However, I think that Dublin has a greater claim than any other city. The Sweepstake was initiated in Dublin to benefit six Dublin hospitals; its success was largely due to the ability and energy of Dublin men; and the bulk of the money is going to Dublin hospitals (all in the first sweepstake, two-thirds in the second and somewhat under two-thirds in the third and fourth). Furthermore, the housing problem in Dublin is incomparably worse than in any other city in the Saorstát. In the last Census (1926) Dublin's figure for families of seven or over in one room was 1,982, whilst that for Cork was 75 and for Limerick 76. Finally, the capital is a natural taking-off ground for a national movement to abolish bad housing.

Let us now consider first of all the equity of the proposed change. Would anyone suffer by it? The large staff of the Hospitals' Trust Ltd. would not suffer, as it would remain unchanged. The bank which benefits by the handling of the immense sums involved would continue to handle them for just as long as before. The printing and other trades which have benefited by the Sweepstake would continue to benefit. So that the whole problem is whether it would be fair to divert from the hospitals the subsidies they are getting. Now, first of all the hospitals have already benefited to an absolutely undreamed-of extent. Some forty-seven hospitals have received the sum of £2,005,485. The following are a few of the largest allocations, based on the published figures for the first three Sweepstakes.

	£	s.	d
Sir Patrick Dun's	108,578	0	0
Jervis Street	94,611	0	0
National Maternity	88,398	0	0
Meath	77,090	0	0
Richmond	77,090	0	0
Coombe	68,293	0	0

The hospital authorities themselves have made no secret of their almost incredulous satisfaction. On every side we hear of overdrafts wiped out, new equipment installed, building operations embarked on. The Chairman of the Hospitals Committee has spoken of the possibility of an Endowment Fund of £12,000,000. Nor does anyone grudge this money to the hospitals. They have done splendid, self-sacrificing work, and struggled along under crushing financial difficulties. But the point is, for whom is all this new equipment and accommodation? Clearly for the poor. The very name of the Act legalising the Sweepstake is the Public *Charitable* Hospitals' Act. Hence we must ask ourselves: have the poor now got all the hospital equipment and accommodation they want, and would it not be better to give them what they want a thousand times more, namely homes?

Furthermore, it is beyond argument that the slums are simply manufactories of patients for the hospitals. Why not cut off the stream of patients at the source, instead of providing elaborate treatment for them when the stream flows in at the dispensary door? Or to vary the metaphor, why continue bandaging, however mercifully, the festering sore, instead of applying the knife and the antiseptic to the root of the evil? I put this argument most hopefully to the hospital authorities who know from bitter experience how many serious complaints can be traced back to common dirt, want of fresh air, and want of proper heating. And I put it hopefully to the hospital authorities, also, because they are as idealistic and unselfish a body as can be found in our city. Let them ponder over the following grim facts, taken, not from the over-sentimental writings of some social reformer, but from the sober pages of the Census and from figures supplied by the Chief Medical Officer and the Assistant Registrar General. I will quote first the figures of families living in one-room tenements.[1]

Persons per family	1926	1911	1901
1	4,736	3,604	3,275
2	5,299	3,310	5,544
3	4,216	3,893	4,392
4	3,300	3,074	3,354
5	2,409	2,267	2,302
6	1,711	1,488	1,477
7	1,030	854	794
8	540	431	362
9	265	146	145
10	119	45	47
11	23	16	13
12 and over	5	5	6
Total number of families	23,655	21,133	21,747

[1] Census (1926) Vol. IV. Form 13A p. 53.

To avoid any appearance of exaggeration, let us omit the families living 1, 2, or even 3 in a room. No one will deny that four persons who have only one room for their sole habitation are overcrowded. The usual official sense of "overcrowding" is more than two in a room. Rough figures will here be perhaps more effective than accurate totals, and thus we find that in 1926 there were about 10,000 families comprising 50,000 persons living 4 and more in a room. The position is worse now, owing to increase of population and decay of tenements.

These figures dispel at once the vague idea that all the houses built at Marino, Donnycarney, Cabra and elsewhere have done something to relieve the slum problem. It is true that since 1922 about 6,000 houses have been built in Dublin with State and municipal assistance, but hardly one of them has gone to a real slum dweller. The best that can be said is that they have done a little to prevent the situation from becoming more rapidly worse. Much was said about this in the Dáil lately, usually with reference to the argument as to whether the Government could have done more in the past nine years or not. For our purposes this argument is waste of time. Whether the Government could have done more or not, the 10,000 four-in-a-room families are still four in a room.

The worse feature of the state of affairs indicated by the above figures is undoubtedly the basement or "kitchen" type of tenement, of which there are about 1,750 in occupation. Under the provisions of the Public Health Act of 1878, ninety per cent of these dwellings are legally unfit to be human sleeping-places, as no part of them is three feet above the surface of the ground not to mention other conditions of the Act with which they do not comply [1]. But out of sheer compassion the authorities are forced to tolerate their use; and in

[1] Under Section 22 of the new Bill most of these basements will also be unfit for human habitation. It prescribes that if the floor of a dwelling is three feet beneath the surface of the street, the dwelling must be at least seven feet in height and comply with the regulations of the local authorities for securing proper light and ventilation and protection from dampness. No regulations could secure this in the case of nearly all the existing basements.

fact, of late, many which had been closed have had to be put into use again, as it was a choice between that and leaving their occupants utterly homeless.

It would be an impossible task to work out in detail the effects of this terrible state of affairs on public health. However, let us take one significant set of statistics, the Infantile Mortality rate. Having seen the effect of bad housing on the opening stages of life, we can guess its effect upon life in general. Compare first the death-rate per 1,000 of infants under one year in a few of the healthy districts as compared with the City districts which are the domain of slumdom. I give the figures for 1920, as they are the latest available in which the rate is given separately for each district. Though the average rate has dropped from 152 to 101 since then, the figures remain true for purposes of comparison.

City Registrar's Districts.	Infantile Mortality per 1,000 births.
Clontarf and Howth No. 1	76
Coolock and Drumcondra	77
Finglas and Glasnevin	48
Rathmines Nos. 1 and 2	89
North City No. 1 East	179
,, No. 1 West	160
,, No. 2	166
,, No. 3	133
South City No. 1	181
,, No. 2	136
,, No. 3	157
,, No. 4	153

Now take the figures in another way. Suppose that the infantile death rate were reduced to, let us say, 80 per 1,000 in the crowded areas. This is not too ambitious a figure, as it is higher than that of most of the good areas cited above. How many children under one year would be saved in a year? To arrive at a fairly accurate estimate of this I have had to take the figures of 1922,

as that is the most recent year in which the number of births in each district is available separately.

City Registrar's Districts	Total of children born.	No. of deaths at rate of 80 per 1,000.	Actual Number of deaths.
North City 1 E.	1,082	90	194
„ 1 W.	1,329	110	213
„ 2	830	69	138
„ 3	946	78	136
South City 1	1,173	97	212
„ 2	500	41	68
„ 3	1,341	111	211
„ 4	950	79	145
		675	1,317

I realise that the above calculation is somewhat rough and ready, as some of the children who died in 1922 were registered under the births of 1921, and some of those born in 1922 would be registered under the deaths of 1923. I also grant that the totals are now much lower, owing to the diminished infantile death-rate. But the general reasoning is correct. There is no argument therefore about the fact that the number of infants who die under one year in these eight City areas is just twice what it should be ; and, even allowing for the diminished rate of to-day, it seems quite safe to say that the number of infants who perish needlessly is almost 500 a year. And this is only under one year. What of those under two, three, four and five ?

And this annual holocaust of children is caused by the slums alone. Poverty does not cause it, as the poor will sacrifice everything rather than let the baby suffer, and in cases of need pure milk is available through the Infant Aid Society, which distributes 1,950 pints of milk each morning. Ignorance does not cause it, as instruction and medical assistance are available through the hospitals, the Clinic of the Assistant Medical Officer, the Child Welfare nurses and the nine Baby Clubs. Furthermore,

I am able to quote the testimony of the Chief Medical Officer of Health, of the Secretary of the Infant Aid Society and of the Child Welfare nurses that ninety per cent of these children are killed by their surroundings. And indeed it hardly requires an expert to pronounce the cause of death when a baby dies which has been reared in a verminous room with six or more human beings sleeping in it, no water supply or sanitary accommodation, no air, no sunshine, and no proper heating.

Quite apart from the waste of life we must consider the waste of money caused by bad housing. In addition to all that goes to support the hospitals, a great deal of public money has to be devoted to medical services. Take, for instance, the expenditure on Sanatoria and other provisions for the treatment of tuberculosis. The latest complete figures available are for the financial year ending March, 1931.

	£	s.	d.
National Tuberculosis Grant	78,819	12	0
Sanatorium Grant	4,117	15	2
Block Grant[1]	27,750	0	0
Expenditure by Local Authorities[2]	78,819	12	0
	£189,506	19	2

No one denies the excellence of the work done by the Tuberculosis Officers and the sanatoria, but certainly in the case of city patients their work is liable to be undone as rapidly as it is done, by the wretched homes to which the patients must return. It is almost unnecessary to elaborate the picture. The patient leaves an institution where he is all day long in the open air, with scrupulous cleanliness observed. He returns to a badly ventilated room where he lives, eats and sleeps with anything from four to twelve other human beings,

[1] This grant is paid within the calendar year 1st January, 1930—31st December, 1931, but it seems fair to include it as above to get an approximate total.

[2] The National Tuberculosis Grant recoups the Local Authorities for fifty per cent of their expenditure. Hence the above figure.

where there is no sanitary accommodation available except an indescribably filthy closet in the backyard, and where every drop of water for washing has to be carried up six or eight flights of stairs. One begins to wonder what was the point in ever sending him to a sanatorium at all.

Whilst we are dealing with this point of the waste of public money caused by bad housing, we may notice that already a good deal of the Sweepstake money is being diverted to support institutions that should normally be kept up by public money. Inclusive of the November Handicap, the County Infirmaries have benefited to the amount of about £250,000. If it is lawful to assist such public institutions for the treatment of disease out of the Sweepstake money, it seems a logical conclusion that it is lawful to help these public institutions by spending the money on keeping the people out of them by giving them healthy homes.

Indeed the clause in the Amendment to the Public Charitable Hospitals' Act[1] which dealt with the County Homes was worded thus :—

> One-third of the available surplus in any Sweepstake held under the Principal Act shall be paid to the Minister for Local Government and Public Health, and shall be applied by him in such manner as he shall think fit in or towards the provision, improvement, or equipment of institutions for the prevention, treatment, or cure of physical or mental diseases or injuries of human beings.

Legally, I suppose, decent homes would hardly come under the heading of "institutions for the prevention of diseases," but the step to include them would not be a very big one.

Let me now deal with a few possible objections to the plan. There is first the objection that there is something indecent in the idea of providing a home for the worker out of the proceeds of a sweepstake, somewhat as if a man were to organise such a venture to support

[1] The Public Charitable Hospitals' (Amendment) Act 1931, section 6, sub-section 1.

his wife and family. I grant that there is a good deal in this. It is shameful that the worker should be in such a position, and it would be an insult to him if his plight were to be remedied solely by devoting the Sweepstake money to housing. But it is clear that to go into a general discussion as to what else should be done would be beyond the scope of this article. Furthermore, the present wretched conditions are the fruit of a century of injustice and indifference since the era of the Industrial Revolution. The position is abnormal, and abnormal means must be used to remedy it. After all, is not the giving of government or municipal grants for housing just as much of an insult? The worker should be in a position to pay for his house. Either wages should be higher or building costs lower. Yet no one would say that while the long, perhaps interminable battles about wages and building costs are being fought out, subsidies should not go on. At any rate a clinching argument seems to me to be that all other steps to relieve the housing evil are going to be extremely slow, and that it is better to risk insulting the worker than to let his children die.

Another objection might be that if this money were available for housing, especially if the success of the Sweepstake were to continue for many years, the public conscience would become dulled with regard to the duty of providing for the housing of all members of the community. I would reply firstly that the public conscience could hardly be duller than it is on this point, and secondly that the fact of seeing something done, of seeing a small garden city spring up with houses at five or six shillings a week, or blocks of comfortable, cheerful-looking flats (*not*, by the way, the Vienna rabbit-warrens, however hygienic or artistic), or even streets of reconditioned tenements, would be more likely to act as a stimulant than as an anodyne.

These two points were touched on in the debate in the Oireachtas on the Amendment extending the scope

of the Sweepstake to the support of the Jubilee nurses. That debate hinged upon the question as to what extent services normally supported by the Government or local authorities might be subsidised out of the Sweepstake money. It seems to me that the housing problem is so unutterably vast that we can prescind from this question in its case. I do not think that any of the political parties believe for a moment that, even under the most favourable circumstances, they could get the problem solved quickly. Let them fix mentally the maximum amount of the problem that they could cope with during, say, the next five years. Can they not look on the rest of it as something that would be simply physically impossible for them to deal with—and hence for which they would have, as a Government, no moral responsibility? What would there be to prevent them from permitting privately-raised money to be spent during those five years *pari passu* with their own efforts? If their own efforts were genuine, they would be doing their duty and maintaining their reputation as a Government.

A third objection would be based on what one might familiarly call the danger of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Would the Sweepstake lose its appeal if it were for houses instead of for hospitals? The amazing success of the Dublin Sweepstake has been positively a psychological phenomenon. There have been, after all, countless hazards of the same type. They are quite an ordinary feature of life on the Continent. What constituted the peculiar appeal of this particular Sweepstake, especially outside Ireland? I attribute it to a combination of four factors. The obvious one was the huge prize-money, and with this may be bracketed the care taken by the Sweepstake authorities to secure a fair draw. Then came that peculiar half-sentimental interest in Ireland as a horse-breeding and horse-loving country which is found throughout the English-speaking world,

and has been fostered by novels of the Dorothea Conyers and Somerville and Ross type. This, I think, played a considerable part, in spite of the fact that all the Sweepstakes have been on English races. Thirdly there came a vague benevolence towards hospitals, the only vestige of religion probably left in many of the participants; and lastly there came the sweetness of dodging the Government in a harmless way, a sensation dear to the heart of every law-abiding but sport-loving Briton. These four elements made up, as it were, the psychological cocktail for which so many millions were willing to pay ten shillings.

Now the question is, will the cocktail lose its flavour if one ingredient, the desire to help the hospitals, is replaced by the desire to provide homes for the poor? I am convinced that though the combination of the ingredients was required to give the Sweepstake its initial success, now that it has caught the imagination of the world, the first ingredient, the hope of a large prize, is the only one that tickles the palates of ninety-nine per cent of the subcribers. I am afraid for instance, that the evidence in the Scala case did not betray any very deep anxiety about the Irish hospitals on the part of the litigants. Furthermore, if this desire to help the hospitals still leads any to subscribe to the Sweepstake, they will surely be persons of a type who would just as gladly subscribe to give homes to the poor.

One may go even further and argue that if the Sweepstake is depending for its appeal upon the fact that it benefits the hospitals, then there is considerable danger that, as time goes on, that appeal will vanish. Public opinion may very quickly veer round to the idea that the hospitals are rolling in wealth. Already the hospital authorities themselves are complaining that their voluntary subscriptions are falling off. And quite apart from the success of the Sweepstake, it would be a fatal blow to the spiritual welfare of the nation if the hospitals were in any danger of becoming commercialised. It is very

easy to slip into the frame of mind that the hospitals would be all the better off if they had such sound endowments that they were independent of voluntary subscriptions. Undoubtedly it would save the often harassed authorities much worry, but it would mean the death of the great ideal of voluntary charity. No amount of fixed income will ever have behind it the moral support of the Good Samaritan's two pence.

It would be beyond the scope of this article to suggest how exactly the money should be utilised. That would be a matter for arrangement between the Government and City authorities and the Hospitals' Committee. I think it might be an attractive plan to devote all the money to one area, and thus give those concerned the feeling that some solid, tangible good had been done. I do not wish to use the name "Garden City," as that suggests to many an ambitious extravagant scheme. The tenor of my whole article has been the desperate bitter need to get the bare essentials done at all cost. Neither do I wish here to go into the very complicated question of building on virgin soil *versus* the clearance of slum areas. The Government in its new scheme favours the latter course, but there are many arguments against it. Catholic social workers on the Continent, especially in Holland, hold out vigorously for single houses on new areas. There is not the least doubt that they accord better than the best type of flat with the Christian ideal of the family. But I know the enormous practical difficulties involved, and it would be only complicating the issue to go into this point here.

In conclusion I should like to make it clear that my proposal is a purely pragmatic one—born of the conviction that the housing evil is so desperate that any remedy that is not intrinsically bad should be at least temporarily employed. I pass no verdict on the vexed question of the desirability or not of Sweepstakes. It is enough for me that the Hospitals' Sweepstake

actually exists and is going to go on for some time at least. I do not say for a moment that this proposal is all that should be done for housing. I confine myself to the fact that it is a thing that certainly could be done, and done quickly. FERGAL MCGRATH

Comments on the Foregoing Article

No. 1. By Mgr. Michael Canon Cronin, M.A., D.D., P.P., V.G.

Father McGrath's article, "The Sweep and the Slums," is sure to give rise to much public discussion, and therefore it is unnecessary for me to say anything about his main suggestion, *viz.*, the utilisation of the Sweep money for providing houses for the poor. But the invitation extended to me by the Editor of Studies to write a brief criticism of the article gives me an opportunity to say one or two things on the housing problem in Dublin, things which I have long felt and long wished to say.

I

The first is that each family should, if possible, be provided, not with rooms, but with a house. The distinct house is the first and essential condition of the independence of the family. I can point to many districts in Dublin where a large tenement area has been cleared to make room for many small houses. The transformation has been extraordinary—no more sickness and misery, physical or moral.

The common hall and staircase of the old-style tenement, the common corridor of the Corporation or Council building, above all the common sanitary provisions, are not good enough for even the poorest family. Some things falling under this last heading are a grievous humiliation to our poor.. Not that there are not innumerable respectable families to be found living under such conditions. They are to be found in thousands. But they are good and respectable themselves and in spite of the conditions. Ask them are they satisfied with the circumstances and they will invariably answer: "If only we could have a little house of our own." Is it fair to subject those splendid people to conditions so adverse to their self-respect, so hurtful to their delicacy, so trying to their innate respectability ?

It may be objected that the sites available are often too small to allow of the erection of a large number of distinct houses.

And that may be, and therefore it may often be necessary to go outside the city for a site. But it should be remembered that a condemned tenement house often covers a large ground area and has often a garden attached, and therefore the site will often allow of the erection of several small houses with small separate yards attached. A garden for each is not required. At all events, my only contention is that, where possible, the 'one house, one family' ideal ought to be followed.

But whether it is followed or not, let there be no more of the common hall and staircase, the common inside corridor, the common sanitary arrangements. At Brookfield, Blackrock, a system has been in use for years which may be described as the next best thing to the separate house system. There, instead of a common interior corridor, there is a common outside verandah by which the people reach their doors. The neighbours do not gather on this verandah as they would in the inside corridor to the annoyance of quiet people. And, once in, one closes one's door and a man's home is his castle. The flats are complete and self-contained. In the upper flats there is just one drawback—insufficient space for storing, particularly the storing of coal. But that is a disability which, if not rectifiable, can at least be tolerated.

Another difficulty is the obvious one of finance. Distinct houses are expensive. The money could not be found. I shall be glad if I can provide even a partial solution of this difficulty. It is suggested in what is now to follow.

II

The wage paid to the worker is meant to enable him and his family to live. But they cannot live, at least they cannot live a proper life, unless they have a dwelling to live in. And therefore an employer cannot rid himself wholly of responsibility in regard to the housing of his employees. Employers of fifty years ago would not have accepted that conclusion. They must now. The world has changed much in the intervening half-century. Men's ideas have changed, particularly in regard to the rights of workmen. And they have changed for the better.

An employer may say: "I give him enough in wages to enable him to secure a dwelling." But if, as a matter of fact, proper dwellings are not available, then the employer has still a duty to his employees. If he is able, he ought to provide homes for them. As a matter of fact a decent employer will not be indifferent to the housing of his men. The railway and

tram companies have always recognised their duty in this respect. But there are numbers of large employers who have not. I submit that if they did, the housing problem would not have arisen, at least in the acute form in which it now stands, and the financial problem now presented to government and corporation would be less serious than it is.

Moreover, the employer is in a very advantageous position in respect to the building of houses. He has not to collect the rent; it is stopped out of the weekly wage. The corporation or artisans' dwellings company have to collect their rents and may not always get them. Again, the employer, if he interests himself in the housing of his workmen, will thereby secure more loyal service. Bad or unsatisfactory work means dismissal, and dismissal means the loss of a house—a serious consequence which no workmen will lightly court. Then, to the workmen themselves there is the obvious advantage of a house contiguous to their place of work. This the employer could try to secure. A corporation, on the other hand, in building houses does not know where the tenant will work.

Every *large constant* employer, therefore, ought to do something for the housing of his workmen. If there is a difficulty about the site, often there are rear premises that could be turned to good advantage. I say 'the *large* employer,' because obviously the small man may not have capital or credit. Besides, the preliminary and overhead expenses are in inverse proportion to the number of distinct houses. A solicitor may charge nearly as much for the purchase of a small site as of a large one. Repairs to one house will be relatively more expensive than to many. A caretaker will manage many houses as well as a few. The small employer is, therefore, confronted with special difficulties which may excuse him from the duty of providing houses for his few employees. I say 'the *constant* employer,' for often the employers vary. The dockers are paid from one ship to-day, from another to-morrow. You could not expect the shipowners to build houses at every port.

It is these dockers, the men of the very small firms, the casuals and the labour employees of corporation and government that form the principal part of the relatively small residue for which provision would have to be made, if the existing employers could be awakened to a sense of their duty and their own interest in regard to the housing of the workmen. To provide for the dockers and the others, probably 50 per cent., perhaps 30 per cent., of the loans at present suggested would be sufficient.

If the Corporation were to summon a conference of Dublin large employers even now much might be done for the solution of this most pressing and outstanding problem.

MICHAEL CRONIN

No. 2.—By Gerald J. Sherlock

City Manager and Town Clerk of Dublin

MUCH controversy has arisen on certain aspects of the housing problem in Dublin, such as the causes of the high cost of building, the use of concrete instead of brick for constructional purposes, the provision of flats in central areas as against cottages in suburban districts, the degree of preference for Irish building materials, the extent of accommodation and amenities in dwellings . . . . Father McGrath is obviously not unaware of these difficulties; he has wisely avoided entanglement in matters which are relatively of subsidiary importance, and has very properly concentrated upon the vital question of housing finance.

My knowledge of the various aspects of the subject enables me to state deliberately that the housing problem is essentially a money problem, and that the speedy improvement of the dreadful conditions now existing is directly and proportionately dependent upon the amount of funds provided and the terms on which they may be made available.

The provision of decent housing for the working classes is a public health obligation, and thus immediately concerns local authorities; it is a measure of social insurance against the consequences of subversive propaganda, and so immediately affects the State; it is a humanitarian duty, and so immediately concerns every citizen in the State.

That the Dublin Corporation recognises its obligations will be seen from the fact that upon completion of schemes at present under construction or about to be constructed, a total number of 8,252 dwellings will have been provided in the former City area at an expenditure of £4,344,000. To this may be added Corporation grants in aid of building—£94,000—to Public Utility Societies and individuals, as well as remission of rates equivalent to a capital value of £30,000—making in all a City housing expenditure exceeding £4,500,000. The State has, likewise, recognised its obligations, not alone by the means of a special grant to local authorities of £1,000,000 in 1922, but also throughout the subsequent period by a free grant to local authorities,

Public Utility Societies and individuals, for every suitable dwelling constructed. In the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1931, it now proposes increased direct financial assistance and additional indirect assistance. That the citizens of the State are not unwilling to do their duty is evidenced by the fact that, so far as I am aware, the only criticism of the financial proposals of the Bill is that they are inadequate.

Notwithstanding what has been already accomplished, the appalling extent of the problem still to be solved in Dublin is clearly shown in Father McGrath's article. The demand on the citizens in the present year for housing purposes is equivalent to a rate of one shilling in the £. Even with the more favourable financial conditions afforded by the provisions of the new Housing Bill, this demand, during the execution of the Corporation's "Five Years Plan" of 2,000 dwellings per annum, will steadily increase to a rate of 2s. 7d. in the £. If to this are added the constantly growing requirements of the Dublin Board of Assistance for relief of the poor and the cost of Tuberculosis Hospital and other social services (equivalent this year to rates of 3s. 10d. and 1s. 1d. in the £ respectively), it will be realised that the struggling Dublin ratepayers are faced with a very heavy burden of rates for the amelioration of the social conditions of the working classes. This, however, is not by any means the limit of the prospective liability, as the "Five Years Plan" provides for only 10,000 dwellings, whilst there are 17,000 actually required. Further, the finance of the Corporation plan is based upon a minimum rent of 2s. 6d. per week per room; but social workers know that there are thousands of families which cannot afford to pay regularly even that low rent. Short of increasing the rates to a crushing extent, the resources from every available quarter appear to be inadequate to afford the benefits of decent housing to those who need it most, but are least able to pay for it. Even taking into account the special financial provisions of the Housing Bill for assisting philanthropic societies to recondition individual tenement houses and to let them at very cheap rents, the numbers of such houses likely to be dealt with are so comparatively small that an *impasse* exists against substantial or rapid progress in the direction of housing the very poorest classes.

In the absence of any practicable alternative Father McGrath's proposal, if modified to utilise in the earliest stages the proceeds of the Sweepstakes for this purpose, would remove the impasse, and (upon the figures he gives) would quickly lead to the abolition of the cellar dwellings and the lowest class of slums. In sub-

stitution for them new dwellings would be provided which could be let at a general minimum rent of 1s. 6d. (or, in very special cases, 1s. 0d.) per room per week, because the rent would not have to bear loan charges of any kind, whether for sinking fund, interest or customary incidentals.

I could readily supplement with further cogent reasons Father McGrath's plea for an exclusive allocation to Dublin of the proceeds of the Sweepstakes, especially in the earlier years; but if a sum of one and a half million pounds were available annually for, say, five years, I am of opinion that Dublin's preferential claims would be fairly met by allotting during that period one million pounds per annum to the capital city. It would be my intention not to entirely relieve tbe city ratepayers of their proper responsibility in the matter of housing, but to endeavour to adjust the burden to their capacity to bear it—more particularly in respect of the housing of the very poor.

Father McGrath has made an admirably reasoned case for the immediate and favourable consideration of his proposals by the public and the Oireachtas, a case made all the stronger by the restrained and moderate manner of its presentation.

GERALD J. SHERLOCK

No. 3.—By Professor Michael Tierney, t.d.

THE proposal made by Father McGrath in the foregoing article raises a matter of urgent importance, to which too serious attention cannot be given. I do not think it can be said that any apathy of the public conscience plays a large part in the problem of the slums. There is no citizen of Dublin, whether he be a social worker or not, who has not forced daily on his attention the terrible conditions under which so many of his fellow-citizens are compelled to live. The greatest difficulty is the feeling of utter helplessness engendered in the individual by the sheer magnitude of the problem. If it were capable of even partial solution by the free play of economic forces, or even by their regulation, it could have been solved long ago. But it is a problem in which almost every thread of argument leads into a vicious circle. To take the question of building costs, upon which it is so often said to depend. At least fifty per cent. of building costs is made up of wages. Reduction in the price of building materials involves in the long run reduction in wages. Reduction in wages involves in turn reduction in the capacity of the worker to pay his rent. You do not change a sum in proportion by reducing

the figures all round. The same argument applies to the proposition that the housing question is the business of the State.

This proposition is itself conditioned by the very fact that the State is only being called on because the citizens who require housing are to a greater or less extent unable to pay an economic rent. In other words it amounts to a demand for public compulsory charity, whether in the form of extra rates or of higher taxation. Again, in the long run rates and taxes fall in undue proportion on the poorest citizens, the ultimate class beyond which they cannot be passed on. The more money is raised for housing by taxation, at any rate beyond a certain limit, the heavier is the burden placed on the very people whom the State is endeavouring to benefit. This situation is bad enough in the case of workers who are in permanent employment but unable to pay a full economic rent. It is infinitely worse in the case of the fairly large proportion of the slum-dwellers who can only find casual employment or none at all. It is well known that the admirable efforts of the past nine years or so have to a great extent only benefited a fairly well-to-do class whose housing problem was really a legacy from the war and had little to do with the permanent difficulty of the slums.

It is a delusion to imagine that State aid for housing as now being given is in the usual sense of the word an "economic" enterprise. It is, as I have said, a form of communal charity, with the qualification that it is compulsory on the individual taxpayer; and if pushed too far, it involves the danger—a danger known to have befallen in previous history—that society may crush itself under its own weight. In the depressed conditions of trade and industry which seem likely to be normal for many years to come, the housing problem may be alleviated to a considerable extent by this method, but it cannot be finally or satisfactorily solved. The possibility of obtaining further resources for this most pressing of all social questions by the means suggested by Father McGrath is not to be lightly thrown aside. It may be said that to advocate the use of money so acquired for this purpose is equivalent to advocating a State lottery for the general relief of taxation. This objection can be met by pointing out that we have really only a choice between two forms of charity, and that of all possible purposes to which the proceeds of a State lottery might be devoted, this is the most desirable and the one most likely to be a first charge on them for many years.

There are two possible arguments against Father McGrath's proposal. The first is that under the Public Charitable Hospitals

Act the hospitals have a clear claim to exclusive benefit till 1934. It may be pointed out, in all fear and trembling, that there is some little danger of our hospitals being over-financed, and that there are few more wasteful uses for very large sums of money than over-elaborate hospital buildings, equipment, and—perhaps it may be added—organisation. The object for which the hospitals were given this opportunity was primarily the alleviation of the hardships of poverty and the improving of the health of the poor. The raising of the physical standard of slum-dwellers may, as Father McGrath has pointed out, be better accomplished by the provision for them of proper houses, open spaces, light, and sanitation, than by any other means. The hospitals themselves might voluntarily turn their attention to this aspect of what is, after all, essentially a single problem. The second, and more serious counter-argument is that by extending the objects for which Sweepstakes are organised, we might cause the supply of money from abroad to dry up. Ireland is not the only country with a housing problem. But neither is she the only one with a hospital problem. The success of the Sweepstakes has been less due to their charitable object than to the fact that they have given good value for money. From the viewpoint of a person who has no interest in racing but every sympathy with racegoers, it may be suggested, perhaps, that if a proportion of all the vast sums expended annually on racing could be devoted to some charitable purpose, much good might ultimately accrue both to the cause of racing and to the cause of charity.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

No. 4.—By Dr. M. J. Russell.

Chief Medical Officer of Health for Dublin

I HAVE read with great interest the paper by the Rev. Father McGrath, and it would give me great pleasure if the proposals contained therein could be carried into effect.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the gravity of the position in regard to the shortage of housing in Dublin. Not only is the shortage serious in itself; but unfortunately we are compelled, owing to it, to permit the occupation of houses which under normal conditions would not be fit to house animals. Of course, no such thing should be tolerated as the bringing-up of a whole family in one room in a tenement house.

Outside Dublin I know of no other city where so many houses, that were originally intended for one family, are now tenements and occupied by from five to twelve families. In

these one-room tenements there is no attempt at separation of the sexes. The sanitary accommodation is entirely objectionable, the closets are always dirty, and a large percentage of them cannot be used by females or children. When you consider that from one-fourth to one-third of the population of Dublin occupy one-room tenements, it is evident what an appalling state of affairs prevails in our city. We do not, perhaps, suffer to the same extent from "slumdom" (in the sense of narrow laneways and back-to-back houses and so forth); but the sanitary condition of the Dublin tenement houses is exceedingly bad and worse than I have seen in any other city.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the evil effects of this one-room dwelling system upon the public health. Apart from vitiation of the atmosphere of a room by exhalation from the bodies of occupants, there is an added risk of the spread of communicable or infectious diseases by spray infection from the nose and throat. It has been shown that in tenement houses pulmonary tuberculosis prevails, broadly speaking, in an inverse ratio to the number of apartments in the house. Here are some typical figures: in a certain city 12 per cent. of the population live in one-room dwellings, and from these come 17 per cent. of the cases of pulmonary tuberculosis; while the 21 per cent. of the population living in three-roomed houses contribute only 15 per cent, of the cases, and the 16 per cent. living in houses with four or more rooms contribute only 8 per cent. of the cases. Roughly speaking, therefore, the first class has, in proportion to its numbers, twice as many cases of the disease as the second, and very nearly three times as many as the third.

Although I have laid particular stress upon tuberculosis, it has always been my conviction that bad housing, overcrowding, and insanitary conditions are intimately associated with a high death rate, high infantile mortality rate, and a general lowering of resistance to disease. If there were hospitals in every street and if the number of sanatoria in the country were quadrupled, all would fail to cope with diseases that are bred within the crowded tenements. On the other hand, it is common knowledge that in new housing conditions the general death rate has fallen to more than one-half. The average death rate from phthisis has fallen from 4 per 1,000 to 1.9 per 1,000 of the population.

Of course, it is quite clear that the solution of this colossal problem is a matter of money. Given plenty of money any person could solve the housing problem. Not only is a huge sum of money required to erect houses, but the advantage of having sufficient money to enable the local authority to let these houses

at a rent which the tenants can pay is obvious. The housing problem cannot be solved by building houses and charging a rent which the vast majority of the tenants are not in a position to pay.

I am sure it is not Father McGrath's intention to relieve the ratepayers or taxpayers of their primary duty of providing and continuing to provide housing accommodation for the working classes. The Sweepstakes Amendment Act provides for assistance for institutions which are also maintained by the ratepayers and taxpayers, and which are dealing with health matters. It seems to me that nothing can be more deserving and praiseworthy and more closely associated with the health and well-being of the community than the provision of sufficient housing accommodation, and I hope that Father McGrath's proposal will receive serious consideration. M. J. Russell.

No. 5.—By Senator John T. O'Farrell

Father McGrath suggests that from now onwards the money available for the hospitals out of the proceeds of Sweepstakes should be utilised instead as a contribution towards a solution of the slum problem—particularly in the bigger cities. In principle I am strongly in favour of this suggestion, but not to the extent of appropriating the *whole* of the money for the purpose. In agreeing to participate in the proceeds of Sweepstakes the hospitals risked the *permanent* loss of part of their normal income from voluntary subscribers, and regard must be paid to this fact. Then, even with the amount already obtained from Sweepstakes, many of the hospitals are none too prosperous, having regard to the amount of arrears they have to make up in connection with the provision of up-to-date equipment, furnishings, repairs to buildings, etc.

If, however, the Sweepstakes continue to be a success for the next three years, there will be made available considerably more money than the various hospital authorities ever visualised and much more than they can reasonably require in the future. In these fortunate circumstances, I know of no more worthy cause in which a good proportion of the money could be used than in the elimination of those festering slums, which are a disgrace to our civilization and admittedly the most fruitful breeding-ground for the sickness and disease which crowd the hospital wards and thereby create the problem which made the running of Sweepstakes necessary at all. The most christian and statesmanlike contribution to the solvency of our various hospitals, therefore, would be the provision of civilized housing conditions for the

denizens of the slums. A falling off in the number of poor patients unable to pay for their treatment would automatically mean a corresponding reduction in the financial commitments of the hospitals, so that although the money would not be paid direct to the hospital authorities, it would in actual practice be the equivalent of a subsidy.

It is a short-sighted and mistaken policy and utterly wasteful to erect and maintain palatial hospitals in the midst of a vast and horrible slumdom, without at the same time making use of all the means available to get at the root cause of the trouble. So long as the slums exist, they will unfailingly contribute their ghastly quota to the hospital ward and to the cemetery.

Even half the amount that will probably be available as the result of future Sweepstakes would, if judiciously applied to the provision of houses for the poor, effect a veritable revolution in the lives of tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, in the appearance of our cities, and in the physical and mental welfare of the community. Even one decent housing scheme, with its bright sanitary homes, its little gardens, and its playground for the children would constitute an enduring monument to the activities of those who promote and support the Sweepstakes, and would be the most effective reply to those who consider the raising of money by such means as improper and immoral.

I do not for a moment seek to relieve either the State or the Municipality of their responsibilities in this vital matter of housing. Both have failed to act up to their responsibilities in the past, and even now they are not doing all that might be done. I am only facing the grim fact that, notwithstanding the very most that both State and Municipality can be expected to do in the future, the solution of the slum problem is far off. What I want to see done through the money raised by Sweepstakes is "in addition to," *not* in "lieu of" something that *must* be done by the State and the Municipality towards the solution of the problem. There will be in the next three years an unique opportunity for an attack on a grand scale on slumdom and all its attendant evils. If it is availed of to the full, apart from any other of the vital considerations involved, we shall have gone a long way towards permanently solving many of the most pressing financial problems of our harassed hospitals. A slight change in the law would be necessary, but the utilization of the Sweep money for the provision of sanitary housing for those now living in conditions highly detrimental to health would be quite in keeping with the spirit of the original Act.

J. T. O'Farrell

THE GERMAN CATHOLIC WOMEN'S LEAGUE

BY MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

Professor of German, University College, Dublin

ON rising ground, the Ginnheim hill, sloping to the Taunus Mountains, in Bockenheim, suburb of the ancient imperial city of Frankfurt am Main, there stands a modern parish church which is worth a visit, not only because of its arresting twentieth-century structure and style, but also because of its symbolic character and unique origin. Built in the two years 1927-1929 of concrete and shell limestone, it consists of a nave and a lofty rectangular portal, in the triple embrasure of which are set three great doors. In the long shaftlike niche over the central door stands a statue, 45 feet high, of the Mother of Sorrows, Queen of Peace. It is overlaid with mosaics. Mosaic, too, are the symbolizations of the evils of war and the blessings of peace in the side embrasures of the portal. The figure of the Blessed Virgin, clad in royal red and holding the hem of her cloak thrown over her arm, as if she were about to step forth into the surrounding land, stands on the ball of a world, over which sprawls the dragon of dissension. Her right hand grasps a palm branch, her left is lifted in a gesture warding off hate and imploring peace. Her face, as it looks out across the Taunus and the Main, has underlying traces of Golgotha; its stricken beauty has a special message for a war-worn world. Over the flat roof of the portal is set a great cross, which is electrically illuminated for five minutes every evening at nine o'clock when, following a beautiful custom introduced into the parish after the war, the church bells are rung as a reminder to the parishioners to pray for the dead who fell in the field. The memory of the 1,824,501 fallen is visibly perpetuated in a colonnade running north of the portal and enclosing a memorial court with countless tablets recording

the names of the victims. Within the church are great white spaces, stained only by the light piercing the many-coloured glass of the the long, slender windows, and by the rainbow splendour of the great mosaic altarpiece of the Crucifixion, with the Mother of Sorrows surrounded by a band of heroic women, saints of all ages and types.

Each of these women symbolises a special mission : Lioba, friend of St. Boniface and messenger of the Gospel ; Veronica, bearing the image of the Suffering Face of her Lord down through the ages ; Hedwig, the great peace-maker ; Catherine of Siena, with the ardent heart and the keen political vision—special patron of Catholic lay-women ; Hildegard of Bingen, foundress abbess, writer, and medical adviser ; Mary Magdalen, generous lover and humble penitent ; Elizabeth of Hungary, organiser on her own queenly scale of Caritas ; and many others. In front of the altar is a beautiful carpet woven by women ; the baptistry is decorated from designs by a woman sculptor, Ruth Schaumann, the artist wife of Dr. Muth, editor of the well-known monthly *Hochland*. She, too, is the sculptor of the fine " Pieta " in the crypt, and the crypt contains the complete list of offerings which went to the building of this interesting church. The givers are all women ; the church is known throughout Germany as the Women's Peace Church ; and the organisation responsible for the idea and its execution is the German Catholic Women's League.

The street that leads to the Church bears the name " Hedwig Dransfeldstrasse," and Hedwig Dransfeld was the President of the League from 1912 to her death in 1925. Previous to 1912 she had been for eight years editor of the League's monthly organ *Die Christliche Frau* (Christian Woman). When, in 1916, Pope Benedict XV was making his earnest appeal for peace, the idea came to this great woman to found a peace church. The original intention was to erect a monumental edifice in Marburg, hallowed by memories of St. Elizabeth, who, as organiser

of Caritas, is the Patron of the League. But the needs of the growing community of Bockenheim, where the existing church housed only 350 people, were made known to the Committee of the League, and in 1917 the site of the present church in Bockenheim, where the Catholics now number 20,000, was purchased. In 1918 the collections began amongst the women of Germany, but the inflation that followed the treaty caused a total loss of all the moneys acquired. In 1924 the work was restarted and a committee formed of the Central Executive of the League and of representatives of thirteen affiliated organisations under the chairmanship of Frau Maria Hessberger of Berlin, Vice-President of the League and a member of the Prussian Parliament. Its energies were such that, in less than four years, the necessary sum could be raised to enable the foundation stone to be laid on the 16th of November, 1927, Germany's Remembrance Day. It is interesting to read the account of the work that preceded the laying of the stone. A Woman's Committee had previously decreed prizes for the best plans, to be competed for amongst the Catholic architects of Germany. There were over 250 entries for the competition, and Professor Herkommer of Stuttgart, one of the prize-winners, was appointed architect. A Munich painter, Josef Eberz, designed the great altar piece, and the mosaic work was carried out by Heinersdorff of Berlin. The statue of the Queen of Peace over the main portal is by Emil Sutor of Karlsruhe. On the 5th May, 1929, the Silver Jubilee Year of the League, the church was solemnly consecrated and the keys handed over to the parish priest of Bockenheim by Dr. Gerta Krabbel of Aix-la-Chapelle, who has been President of the League since the death of Hedwig Dransfeld in 1925.

The stranger visiting this church in Bockenheim might well ask who these women are whose imaginative vision, in a material age, conceived such an idea and whose energy and character, in a Germany harassed by eleven years of

military occupation, weighted by war indemnities and half ruined by inflation, arrived at such a speedy realization of it. A German, no matter where he came from, would have no need to enquire; for the German Catholic Women's League has, as we shall see, ramifications north, south, east and west. Though its original home is the Rhineland and its central office Cologne, its branches are everywhere; its members are drawn from all classes and are found in every sphere of useful and honourable activity—from the members of the Federal Parliament and the salaried head of a Ministerial Department to the humble worker in a domestic capacity. Its publicity work is as efficient and effective as everything else that these women undertake. From its principal periodical, *Die Christliche Frau* (started in 1904), covering the whole period of the League's activity, as well as from a perusal of particular numbers of a second monthly, *Frauenland* (started in 1907), I have taken the main features of the following account of the rise and development of this remarkable Catholic Action movement amongst the women of Germany. I am also indebted to Dr. Gerta Krabbel, President of the League since 1925, for a very stimulating interview kindly given me in 1929, as well as for detailed replies to queries which she had sent to me from the Central Office in Cologne. The publication by Dr. Elizabeth Cosack (of the Central Office of the League) of a volume of memoirs and personal reminiscences of and by various outstanding persons connected with the movement since its initiation has further helped me to understand the characters and realize the aims of these great women. I refer to the volume *Twenty-five Years of the Catholic Women's League.*

At the end of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century the organisation of women's groups, as an expression of the femininist movement, had become the order of the day in almost every European country. The German story of that movement has been told by one

of the German Federation of University Women, Frau Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, in a book published in 1928, *The Feminist Movement*, which gives in a diagram a survey of the women's organisations as they arose and were grouped, for greater effectiveness, under a central association. The emergence of denominational groups was inevitable as the feminist movement developed and programmes were being drawn up. In 1899 the " Protestant Women's League " was established. Four years afterwards comes the " Catholic Women's League," the association which, with good right, regards its achievement as crowned and its profound spiritual, national and social significance symbolized in the Women's Peace Church. The history of the rise and development in twenty-seven years of this organisation is a tale of almost miraculous success. The immediate impulse to the foundation of the Association was an article (in the Rhenish Catholic paper, *Die Kölnische Volkszeitung*, of the 14 June, 1903) by a Würzburg convert of English origin, Frau Emy von Gordon, well known for her charitable and social activities. This article pointed out the great need for a general union of the Catholic women of Germany and of existing charitable and social organisations of women, since in the general women's movement there was a tendency to eliminate religion altogether in favour of Humanitas and Caritas. Frau v. Gordon's expression of the necessity for public and organised effort on the part of German Catholics—who were, at this time, almost in the position of exiles in the political and intellectual life of their own country—was strongly supported by such well-known clergymen as Canon Müller-Simonis of Strassburg and Prelate Werthmann of Freiburg, as well as by distinguished laymen interested in Catholic social activities. Such an association would, they felt, give them power with local and general authorities, and strength would also accrue from contact with one another. After a few private meetings had been held in August, 1903, in Cologne, and a

memorial forwarded to the Bishops asking for their sanction, an organising provisional Committee was formed of fourteen women and four men to draw up a scheme.

Of these fourteen women one, Frau Agnes Neuhaus, of Dortmund, is still living and is a member of the Centre Party in the German Federal Parliament. She had, in 1899, founded a women's welfare league in her native town, which worked so energetically amongst the outcast members of their sex that, in 1904, there were no longer any women in Dortmund under police supervision and that the number of women suffering from sexual disease in the hospitals had been reduced by one-half. Another was Emy von Gordon, the writer of the article and the chairman of the German Catholic Women Workers' Union. A third, Frau Hopmann, was the wife of a well known Cologne doctor and mother of eight children. She had done splendid work in the Cologne Shop-girls' Union and was elected first President of the League, filling that office until 1912. She died only four years ago, but her daughter Antonie is carrying on her work and is the General Secretary to the Central Executive at Cologne. A fourth was the chairman of the Catholic Women Teachers' Union and a tower of strength to the new organisation. Of the four men, three were priests and the fourth, a lawyer, was husband of one of the women. This Committee of eighteen then set to work and evolved the following proposals, which they decided to submit to the General Assembly of the German " Caritas " at Frankfurt am Main on the 7 October, 1903.

1. The Assembly shall appoint a Committee to establish the League of Catholic Women and Catholic Women's Unions.
2. The Committee shall consist of the fourteen women already working on the organising Committee, together with nine others who, though independent of the organisations represented by the fourteen, are known to be interested in the women's movement and whose knowledge and experience will be useful to the new association.

3. A Central Executive shall be constituted forthwith, consisting of a President and six members. This Central Executive shall then choose a Spiritual Director, who shall be a consulting and voting member, his express function being to keep the Association always in touch with Catholic authority and Catholic doctrine. The principle is now confirmed that the new association is to be controlled and staffed by women, the only male member being the Spiritual Director.

The organising committee then started to work out a Constitution for the new Association, and that Constitution was accepted by the Central Executive in November, 1903 at a meeting held in Frankfurt under the Presidency of Frau Hopmann—the acceptance signifying the establishment of the Catholic Women's League. A Directorate of eight was then chosen, again under the presidency of Frau Hopmann and including four other members of the Central Executive, and a general secretary was appointed to take up office in January, 1904. In June, 1904, the Constitution was sanctioned by Cardinal Fischer, and the Central Office of the Catholic Women's League in Cologne could begin its work. The Directorate held its first meetings, elected a treasurer, prepared a form of appeal to the women of Germany, set up a Press Commission for publicity purposes and prepared to educate the members for the tasks they had before them. A motto was chosen: "To prevail by endurance, to triumph by humility, to rejoice in unity." A minimum subscription of 1 mark (1 shilling) a year was fixed for individual members and 10 marks for affiliated associations. The life subscription was fixed at £5 for individuals and £15 for associations. The Committee and Directorate at once made preparations for a general assembly to be held in Frankfurt am Main in November and entered upon a course of study of various subjects of actual moment to be brought before the members when they should have come together. A then famous social worker, Frau Gnauck-Kühne, once a member of the Protestant Women's Union but since 1900

a Catholic, was secured to deal with the question of women workers. This was her peculiar domain; she had written much on the question and had herself gone into a factory as a " hand " to gain practical experience of the conditions of work and the daily lives of the workers. Other subjects on which they secured experts were " Intellectual Training of Catholic Women," " Prisoners' Welfare Work," " Shop-girls' Unions," " Girls' Protection," " Railway Missions."

When the Assembly actually met in the November of 1904, the League had 1,478 members and eight branches. The Constitution was ratified, and the Committee and Directorate re-elected. Before the end of the year they had acquired a paper, *Die Christliche Frau*, and Hedwig Dransfeld—whom persons of every denomination agree in calling one of the most remarkable personalities of her time—appears as editor. She was a well-known writer of prose and verse—a Westphalian—and she became a distinguished public speaker, with a wonderful power of swaying her audience. Her influence on the Catholic Women's League was epoch-making for its history; she guided its destinies from 1912 to 1925—through all the difficulties of the war and the sufferings of the " peace "—and after the Weimar Constitution had called women to Parliament, she guided the destinies of her country as a member of the Prussian Diet. She received the " freedom" of her native town in token of appreciation of her valuable services, and the maintenance of her grave in Werl has been taken over as a public charge by the authorities.

After the first general meeting in 1904, a general meeting of members was held every two years, in different parts of the Empire, until 1914, when owing to the outbreak of the war, no meeting took place. From 1918 to 1927, when Germany was suffering from the two evils of occupation and inflation, the general meetings were triennial. Now that normal conditions prevail, the assemblies have again become biennial. These general meetings keep always the same character. They open

with a reception on the evening of arrival. On the morning of the first day there is a general attendance at High Mass, followed by a business meeting for reports and elections. At the afternoon meeting there are reports by experts on certain subjects of practical interest connected with the League's various fields of activity. In the evening there is a public meeting with a lecture. The second day opens with Mass for the deceased members of the League, followed by a meeting at which reports are again made by experts as on the morning of the first day. On the afternoon of the second day the Study Commissions sit. On the third day there is a meeting of the presidents of the Branch Associations and a discussion on the practical work of the different provinces.

It is important here to stress the fact that the main work of the central organisation was and is study and training, whilst the Branch Associations embark on definite social and charitable activities. In this connection the study commissions are interesting. When the League sets up any department—such, for instance, as that for "Charitable Organisations" or "Political Education" or "Labour Laws" or "Marriage and Family" or "National Morality"—a Commission (with a maximum of 25-30 members), under a president who has special abilities for the task, is appointed to study the various aspects of the question and to report to the general meeting on the results. The Commission may meet at will; but it must meet half-yearly and draft detailed reports based upon the study made by the special members and upon a discussion of the *resumé* of such study. Occasionally, when Commissions are set up in connection with such problems as "The Land" and how the flight from it can be checked, the Commission becomes a fixture and its president becomes ex-officio a member of the Directorate.

Out of this practice of study and training on the part of the central organisation grew the Social Service Schools which were by degrees established by the League and

which now are flourishing institutions, recognised and partially supported by the State and the Local Authorities. These schools train women in welfare work of every kind, including Child and Youth Welfare. The first of them was set up in Munich in 1909; the second in Cologne in 1916 (removed in 1918 to Aix-la-Chapelle); the third in Berlin-Charlottenburg in 1917. Hedwig Dransfeld and Helene Weber were jointly responsible for the Cologne venture, and Helene Weber was the first Principal of the School. That the choice was an excellent one is proved by the fact that she is one of the prominent members of the Welfare Ministry in the present Government. The school at Aix-la-Chapelle has developed so much that splendid new premises were built for it outside the city and completed in the jubilee year of the League in 1929. The course in all these schools is a two-years' one, and the certificates admit to such offices as Factory Inspectors, Welfare Secretaries, Managers of Youth Bureaus, Guardians of Orphans, Juvenile Courts' Assistants, Labour Exchange Officials, Vocational Guidance Officers, Welfare Workers in Police Departments, etc. Candidates for admission to the school must have completed their twentieth year and have the Leaving Certificate of a Girl's High School, as well as a Certificate of having passed a kindergarten or technical examination, or, in lieu of such certificate, a proof of having done practical work over a certain period of time in nursing or welfare centres. The aim of the course is the acquiring of a thorough knowledge of the different branches of social welfare and of its problems and duties. The practical work goes hand in hand with the theoretical, the first two days of the week being devoted to it. Also, three consecutive months of each year—15th July to 15th November (autumn holidays)—must be given to it—either in the students' home town or somewhere else. The cost of training is £12 10s. per annum. Some of the schools have a hostel attached.

I have spoken of the well-nigh miraculous success of

this League. Proofs of that success are the steady increase in numbers from the very beginning and the rapid expansion in all directions. The League started in 1904 with 1,500 in round numbers. In 1906 it had passed the 10,000 mark. In 1908 it falls just short of 20,000. In 1910 the figure is 25,000. In 1912 it is 40,000. Then there is a change of President. Frau Hopmann, who had held the office for eight years—an honorary office—resigns; she was already advanced in years and unable for the work of an association which was obviously in process of rapid growth and requiring the full time services of a younger woman. Hedwig Dransfeld, the Editor of the League's monthly, *Die Christliche Frau*, is now appointed, and with her the movement takes on a new impetus. The question had come up in 1911, whether the League was to work back to an intellectual and conservative movement, such as it had been in its beginnings, or whether it was to go forward to a great democratic development. It is the new President's great achievement that she reconciled these two ideals within the League. She declared that the K.D.F. was for the whole Catholic women's world of Germany—all workers in the same cause—and she carried the general meeting in 1912 in Strassburg with her. Imbued with the spirit of her Church, she bridged the gulf that, in the modern "liberal" world, separates the masses from the classes—a gulf that neither occasional social service nor processes of rationalistic culture can span. After this reconciliation the march of the League is impetuous. For the first war years it is difficult to find figures. But in 1916 the numbers are 90,000 and the number of branches 225. In 1918 they are 110,000; in 1920 they are 210,000; in 1922 the maximum figure, 230,000, is reached. After that date there have been fluctuations; but the numbers are again rising—in 1930 they are 215,138, a considerable increase on the four previous years. One obvious explanation of the phenomenal rise after 1918 lies in the fact that women were admitted to absolute equality with men

under the Weimar Constitution in 1919 ; that they played a splendid part in that fateful assembly and so secured for themselves an opportunity of future service in the Federal and Provincial parliaments of later years. In the dire happenings in the Ruhr, too, the German Catholic Women's League was foremost in every activity that demanded heroic self-sacrifice, skill, and endurance. Another reason is that, with the new " Reich," democratic in essence and in form, Catholics emerged from the position of inferiority to which they had been relegated, and that a League, offering its members ideals of work and service and the possibility of realizing these ideals in training of a deep and significant kind, was bound to attract to its centres women who felt it their right and their duty to co-operate in the building up of their country on new and better lines. In this connection the courses in " political education " set up under the aegis of the " Political Commission " at the League's Central Office in Cologne after 1919 are a proof of the watchful and practical character of this Association, which realised that women cannot or should not be thrown into Parliament without having received some previous training in the responsibilities attached to legislation.

It is clear that the stupendous growth of the League necessitated new principles and methods of organisation. After 1919 we find important changes.

1. *District Secretariats* are evolved in connection with the training and establishment of Branch Associations. There are now sixteen such offices (exclusive of the central office at Cologne). These secretariats are all staffed by trained and paid women workers, many of them with a university degree and a legal or other distinction.

2. *The General Assembly* is converted into an Assembly of Delegates ; every Branch (there are now 1,000) sending its Chairman and one extra delegate for every 100 or fraction of 100 members over the first 100. That assembly alone has the right to make alterations in the Constitution.

3. *The Provincial Groups* number nine—the Bavarian, East Prussian, Würtemberg, Baden, Middle German, Westphalian, Rhenish, North-East German, Hessian. Each Provincial Group has a number of local branches and a President. Some of these groups, such as the Bavarian, were formed as early as 1911, with the sanction and approval of the Central Body.

4. *The Central Committee* is now converted into a body representative of (*a*) the Provincial Groups (each of which sends one delegate to the Central Committee for every 1,000 members); (*b*) the members of the Central Directorate; (*c*) ten representatives of the Youths' Section; (*d*) two members from each of the Central Commissions; (*e*) two members from each of the affiliated associations; (*f*) 15 other women. This Central Committee meets at least once yearly. It decides on matters referred to it by the Assembly of Delegates or the Directorate. It adopts the Budget Proposals and sanctions the establishment of Provincial Groups. Its most important function is the election of the Directorate, which transacts the business of the League, manages its property and represents it abroad. It has as a working sub-committee the President, the three Vice-Presidents, the General Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Spiritual Director.

I have already stated that the main function of the Central Body was study and training, whilst the Branches engaged in activities of a social and charitable kind. I have no space to give any satisfactory account of these activities, the persevering pursuit of which strikes any reader of the publications of the League. I shall mention three institutions, comparatively recent in their origin and born of the watchful care and the wise practicality of the Branch women. One of these is the Hedwig Dransfeld Rest House and House of Studies at Bendorf on the Rhine, founded as a result of proposals made by the associations of the industrial districts of Westphalia to the General Assembly of Delegates at Hildesheim in 1925. Funds

were raised by subscription, by collection and by lottery. The house was purchased in March—in July of the same year it was ready—all the branches helping in the furnishing. The terms are four to six shillings a day; but the Branches often make arrangements to send free members who cannot afford to pay. In this house, Retreats and Days of Recollection are held under the guidance of priests for various classes and types of women, but especially for women from the industrial areas—mothers, whose place in the home is then filled in their absence by welfare workers, thus enabling the mothers to get a much needed rest and change. In the Hedwig Dransfeld Home, too, the various "Commissions" of the League have a centre, where they can meet in quiet and work at their different problems. Twice a year, also, there are housekeeping courses of eight weeks each for the daughters of members, and every November preparatory courses for new members are held in the Home.

Another institution is a temperance restaurant opened by the Aix-la-Chapelle branch on the 21 July, 1930. Preparations had been made for a year before, subscriptions collected, and a small grant obtained from the Youth Welfare Fund. Besides the diningroom, the premises contain a reading and rest room. Dinner can be had for 1s. 3d.—twelve dinner cards for twelve shillings. The restaurant is attractively decorated, the food good and well served. The restaurant is managed by a voluntary committee of members, with a paid housekeeper, cook and a few paid helpers. The venture promises success—the number of customers daily having increased in seven months to 130. This restaurant is the practical outcome of attempts on the part of the Branches to deal with intemperance.

The third institution which I should like to mention is in Essen, West, in the most thickly populated industrial quarter, where a large number of new economic dwellings have been erected. It is a Home and School for the

training of mothers in domestic work and in the care and rearing of children. The foundation stone has just been laid, and the opening of the centre is awaited with interest. The Committee have been two years at work on the raising of the necessary funds for the carrying out of the scheme.

Such is the official and the practical side of the German Catholic Women's League, endeavouring to grapple with the problems of the age and to evolve order out of the chaos of modern conditions. The philosophy of the League has been time and again enunciated by such leaders as Hedwig Dransfeld, Helene Weber and Gerta Krabbel in their various Assembly addresses and elsewhere —a philosophy which gives dignity, reality and a deep religious significance to a movement which has had much to endure from the negative and positive hostility of women as well as men. I refer to the feminist movement, of which this League was, after all, the outcome. The root idea of that philosophy is the mother idea, which affirms the divinely appointed nature of woman and at the same time lifts her above the merely sexual. That mother idea can find expression not only in the countless mothers who labour in their homes, but also in all those women who are prepared to become, in a rough and suffering world, the spiritual mothers of the hapless and helpless. That there is need of such motherhood is the meaning of the cry of Richard Dehmel, the modern German poet, as he looked out on a war-stricken world :—

> " O might our women's hands but help
> To guide your destinies, nations of the world !
> Might but the mothers of our race, O my country,
> Have your life in their good keeping,
> How fair and fruitful would you then stand forth ! " [1]

MARY M. MACKEN

[1] Agnes von Zahn-Harnack : *Die Frauenbewegung*. (The lines above quoted have been translated by me from the German original in this book).

VERSES FOR ALFEO FAGGI'S STATIONS OF THE CROSS

I

Here Pilate's Court is :
None may clatter nor call ;
Each stands as still as
Stone in the wall.
" Strip Him and scourge Him
Till flesh shows the blood,
And afterwards nail Him
On Cross of Wood."

O Lord,
Silence in us the condemning word !

II

Heaven witnesseth, but only in the heart
Is any aid :
" They know not what they do," and then on Him
The Cross is laid —
The Cross that's wide and long enough to bear
His flesh and bone :
A spectacle unto the crowded way,
The Man goes on.

The Father's will
May we know also, and may we fulfil !

III

Beneath the load
The knees quail ;
The heart pants ;
The joints fail ;
Almost the bones break ;
He faints, his breath being loss ;
He sinks beneath the Cross !

May we
Be mindful of this road to Calvary !

IV

Jesus His Mother meets :
She looks on Him and sees
The Saviour in her Son :
The Angel's word comes back :
Within her heart she says,
" Unto me let this be done ! "
Still is she full of grace.

By us, too, be it won
The grace that brings us revelation !

V

" If He should die upon the road
That were a turn of ill :
'Tis fixed the Crucifixion be
Upon that skull-shaped hill.
Ho, man who looks with pity on
The man we take to death,
Bear you the Cross — I order it—
Until He wins back breath."

We take,
Our hearts being moved, the Cross up for Thy sake !

VI

Down to her face His face He bends :
The helper she, the heartner :
His image in her cloth He leaves ;
He leaves it, too, to all like her
Who serve within a little room,
But run to help outside the door,
Who mend and brighten needed things :
He leaves it to good hearts, the Poor !

May we, too, wait,
Like her, and help, and be compassionate !

VII

The Spirit is willing — aye,
But weak the flesh put on ;
Deadly the Cross's weight ;
He stumbles on a stone,
And lies upon the road,
Seeing his Body's blood.

May we
Forget not in these times that agony !

VIII

Heavy the Cross is ;
He drags beneath its beam,
Yet, Women of Jerusalem,
Weep not for Him :
Weep, for your children, rather,
For that they cannot see
The true Son of David,
The Saviour, shown ye.

O Lord,
Also to us say the revealing word !

IX

The skull-shaped hill is near :
The earth and heaven are bare
Of light, and sight, and sound ;
He falls upon the ground,
Knowing that journey's end
Without one to befriend.

O Lord,
Bring us to Life according to Thy word !

X

"Would'st have me share this cloth,
Dividing it with sword?—
Nay, fellow, we will keep it whole,
But harken to my word:
Behind the Cross the dice
We'll throw; who wins will get
What's high enough in price
To pay a tavern debt."

The vesture that makes one with Thee our soul,
May we keep whole!

XI

"This thong, I know, will last;
Draw out the arm and make it fast;
Through hand and board with strength
Drive the nail of mickle length.
Now, King of the Jews, in the sun,
Gape, for our work is done."

God send
That our labours have no evil end!

XII

The birds are flying home,
Now darkened is the sky,
And He hath given up
With that great bitter cry
The ghost, and on the Cross
(His Mother stays by it)
The title rightly His,
KING—is writ.

May we draw near
Considering in our hearts what Man is here!

XIII

Though pitiful it is to see
The wounds, the broken Body,
(The Body of Him that was
As fair as lily of the grass!)
Though the brow with thorns is riven,
And a spear through the side is driven,
It was all for our healing done,
Mother, by thy Son!

May we
This Body in its glory come to see!

XIV

Now in the tomb is laid
Who had neither house nor hall,
Who in the wide world walked,
And talked with one and all;
Who told the sparrow's worth,
The lily's praises said,
Who kept wakeful in the garden
Now in the tomb is laid.

His Spirit still doth move
On a new way of love!

L'envoi

Prince, by Thine own darkened hour,
Live within me, heart and brain;
Let my hands not slip the rein!

Ah, how long ago the hour
Since a comrade rode with me:
Now, a moment, let me see

Thyself, lonely in the dark,
Perfect, without wound nor mark!

PADRAIC COLUM.

THE POETRY OF LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY

BY GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J., M.A.

TO the age of Dryden a woman-poet was a wonder. As such the great man greeted Mistress Anne Killigrew. Yet that unique "virgin daughter of the skies" has not survived Dryden's day and her own. Since then to our own time the array of women-poets in English whose work is of immortal texture remains a very small one. Only four ladies (we do not speak of living ones) seem to have survived so far or to be likely to survive the wreck of reputations, the changes of taste, the envy of time. Of these, two seem fixed in their fame—Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Christina Rossetti. The two others are so recently departed that it seems somewhat rash to speak of them in the tones of posterity. One is Alice Meynell, whose chances with the future few will question; the fourth, it seems to us, is Louise Imogen Guiney.

She has certainly not yet come in for any such heritage of glory. Her life brought her rare and inadequate recognition; it brought her work with little reward or hope, with material poverty and a clinging sense of futility. Since her death in 1920, in spite of the efforts of friend and biographer, the public have not been roused to purchase more than one edition of her collected and selected poems. She had never sought popularity by condescending to fashion or prejudice, or by the contrary devices of noisy defiance. Poetry more remote from loudness, pretence or banality, more sensitive and fastidious has not been found—not even in the pages of Alice Meynell. What hope, then, that this American would hold her own amid the loudness and "push" of her world? She was, besides, a Catholic, and this made a good deal of her singing difficult

to appreciate by non-Catholics, even by cultured ones. For the gaining of vogue in New England she was somewhat too Catholic and too Old-English; in Old England she was rather too Catholic and too American.

We will not pronounce her wholly guiltless of incurring the world's neglect. Her writing and thinking do not make easy reading. She ascends to heights, and is too little concerned about our possibilities of following. In private life she was kind and friendly, but as a poet she stints us of aids to comprehension. In private life she tolerated admirably fools and bores; but as a writer she hardly appeals to limited intelligences. She loves antiquity with its leisurely ways, yet she has the modern horror of lengthiness and tediousness. Her fastidious judgment was shown in the excision of half her hitherto-published poetry from the definite edition of poems she desired should survive;[1] it was shown less admirably in the cryptic brevity and slightly "precious" phrasing she sometimes gives to a thought, a perception or an emotion.

Yet, admitting the worst in all this, it only follows that we must bring a little patience with our desire to enjoy what she offers us; and of how many excellent artists is not that true! Their honey is to be found in clefts of rock, and is to be tasted only by those who will make an effort to secure it. Least of all do these peculiarities appear to form an excuse for the negligence of the public's critical guides in calling attention to the rare distinction of this artist's gift to us.

What is its peculiar excellence? It seems to lie in the combination of strong impulsiveness with self-restraint, of nobility of feeling and fulness of ideas with refined craftsmanship. It is a combination to be expected rather of the masculine than of the feminine poet. Yet all this work as a whole is gracefully feminine: the effect being

(1) This edition is named *Happy Ending: The Collected Lyrics of Louise Imogen Guiney*. New edition, with newly-collected poems. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1927). On the author's life and works, see *Louise Imogen Guiney*, by E. M. Tenison. (Macmillan, 1923).

largely due to the sense of reticence, the poet's unwillingness to "sonnet-sing you about myself." It is a combination in which Miss Guiney has, we think, not been surpassed by any poet of her sex. Others have outshone her in one or other excellence, but each has made compensation by some failure or weakness. Mrs. Browning often rhymed atrociously and was in other respects a maladroit artist. Christina Rossetti talks in languid verse "of graves, of worms and epitaphs." Vigour, on the contrary, was the characteristic of Annette von Droste, the queen of German women-poets; but then she too often misses all that can be called charm. The numerous poetesses of Mrs. Hemans's type have lacked ideas and strength. Some of a more recent stamp, particularly in France, have thrown off restraint and self-respect. And so on.

To begin with what is least—technique in verse: Miss Guiney's writing shows an exquisite ear. She warred uncompromisingly against the tyranny of English sibilance: her success in this struggle she once called (in a letter to the present writer) "my little secret"; it will, in fact, be found to play a large part in her best verse-music. She would not tolerate bad rhymes, rhymes for rhyme's sake, cacophonies, bad grammar, forced constructions, the colloquial or the stereotyped. Her intolerance is sufficiently indicated by her ruthless rejections; her success may be gathered from the fragments we shall quote as illustrations of other points. She did not, indeed, aim at the glory of being a virtuoso in verse: it is, perhaps, curious that no woman ever seems to have done so. She did, however, achieve distinction in another excellence that is rarely observed in women-writers: that of forcible and condensed expression. Of this it is easy to quote a few examples. How picturesque is the flash-light picture of the royal tombs in Westminster Abbey!—

> The storm-spent sea of ended kings.

Or this address to Blaise Pascal:—

> O rich in all forborne felicities!

How charming this, on recalling the face of a girl-friend!—

> Eyes that had a look
> Like a rock-o'er-shadowed brook.

Finer still this, of the mental vistas of an old historian:—

> The endless terraces of ended time.

And there is a gnomic piece, "A Talisman," whose eight lines are classic in their clear beauty of expression.

Such a gift of style is much; but there are other and more essential things that a poet has to live for and by. The revelation of his personality will hold the world mainly in proportion to the force and charm of the personality and to the sincerity and light of the revelation. By reason of all these things the author of *Happy Ending* ought to triumph. In this volume is revealed a beautiful soul aspiring to the highest—revealed with truth and passion, yet with a delicate shyness, revealed in music that is neither torrential nor monotonous but ever satisfies. We come gradually to know the personage and the life; though she does not distinctly tell us of bereavement and poverty, of early familiarity with disappointment, of shadows growing darker as evening closed in.[1] She produced beautiful things, such as no one else in America was producing, but few people seemed to want them.[2] It was not the emphatic "disaster" of Poe's *Raven* that "followed fast and followed faster" in the steps of this brave woman, but just dull and undramatic failure. That word "failure" occurs three or four times among the poems, but its presence is felt more often than read of.

Let us then see some of the darkest pages. In "The

(1) One of her last and keenest disappointments was that her book *Recusant Poets*, much loved and laboured over, failed to find a publisher.

(2) A few, very few, of her poems attracted wide and favourable attention; such as the Christmas carol which appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*, "The Ox he openeth wide the Door." Some pieces of hers that found their way into anthologies have since been suppressed by her own severer judgment.

Still of the Year" the depths of physical and mental helplessness seem touched :—

> Gone is the strength to sigh,
> Either to live or die.

"An Outdoor Litany" seems to harp on the saddest possible refrain :—

> My God, who hast forgotten me!

Yet in neither poem is despair really reached.

Often melancholy turns into sympathy with others; so in the tenderly regretful vision of the young dancers around the plashing fountain in the garden :—

> With that mellow music out of sunshine falling,
> With those precious waters trickling into clay,
> Youth is slipping, dripping, pearl on pearl, away.

In the sonnet of farewell to Oxford regrets end in aspiration :—

> Sweet on those dim long-dedicated walls
> Silver as rain the frugal sunshine falls;
> Slowly sad eyes resign you, bound afar.
> Dear Beauty, dear Tradition, fare you well,
> And powers that aye aglow in you impel
> Our quickening spirits from the slime we are!

The "Epitaphs" would justify a little study devoted all to themselves. Miss Guiney has herself depreciated them as "pseudo-Alexandrian"; but they are, in truth, a rare wedding of the clear and restrained grace of the Greek Anthology to the complex emotions of a modern. They are not mere exercises in an antique style. One feels the writer's own pulsations in these funeral tributes to Philophron, Cnopus, Blaesilla and the rest.

Like to an epitaph is the imaginative sonnet "Astraea," in which we can easily read the singer's own farewell to a world that had shown her so little of its favour :—

> Since I avail no more, O men, with you,
> I will go back unto the gods content. . . .
> Are ye unwise, who would not let me love you?
> Or must too bold desires be quieted? . . .

I will go back to heaven with heart unfed ;
Yet sisterly I turn, I bend above you,
To kiss (ah, with what sorrow !) all my dead.

The gentle, generous spirit of that valediction is never belied in any other utterance—not even when one of them is entitled "Friendship Broken." That is an elegy which suggests how well worth keeping the writer's friendship must have been. It ends with three lovely lines :—

Albeit thou too art loser of life's light,
Like fallen Adam in the wilderness,
Aware of naught but of the thing withdrawn.

But, after all, the tale of a poet's misfortunes and a poet's sighs is an old one. They have so often told us that their sufferings are worse than those of other human beings—is it worth while to dwell on the newest case in point ? What seems new and worth dwelling on in *Happy Ending* is the spirit in which Louise Imogen Guiney accepted her troubles. For it was extraordinarily fine. Humble, courageous, neither stoical nor lachrymose, it never got sullen with earth or heaven, never resigned itself to sloth or laxity. Sometimes the mere beauty or grandeur of external nature is enough to conquer sadness. The height of the hills, for example :—

Hither Felicity
Doth climb to me
And bank me in with turf and marjoram
Such as bees lip or the new-weaned lamb. . . .
One grosbeak, too, mid apple-buds a guest
With blood-red breast
Is singing, singing. All the hells that rage
Float less than April fog below our hermitage.

More effective still the endless prospect afforded by the hills :—

Many a time a mountain-stile, dark and bright
with sudden wetting,
Lured my vagrant foot the while 'twixt
uplifting and down-setting,—
Whither ? Thousand mile on mile, beyond
the last forgetting.

In this one sees a beginning of the mystical *transcensio creaturarum*: it is not the mountain-stile or the mountain itself that matters, but the gaze that strains beyond these and over the horizon.

Still closer to infinity seem the stars :—

> Ces lointains paradis dont est semé le ciel
> Parlent à l'âme en deuil de son sort immortel,
> Elle se purifie à leur divine flamme. . . .

Bourget's beautiful lines are echoed more than once. In " The Co-Eternal " the star thus addresses the despondent wayfarer :—

> Are we two not the same,
> By law everlasting one mystical flame ?
> Aloft if I burn,
> Every ray of my light be thy star of return ;
> Up, up ! to our lot
> Where warfare and time and the body are not.

Despondency is, indeed, the rarest mood with this singer. Few women's hearts can have so responded to the simply physical call of adventure, danger and noble warfare. Listen to " The Wild Ride " :—

> I hear in my heart, I hear in its ominous pulses
> All day on the road the hoofs of invisible horses,
> All night from their stalls the importunate pawing and neighing.
> Let cowards and laggards fall back ! but alert to the saddle ! . . .
> We leap to the infinite dark like sparks from the anvil—
> Thou leadest, O God ! All's well with Thy troopers that follow.

" All's well " often in the very depth of seeming defeat : this is exquisitely touched on in " The Vigil-at-Arms " :—

> . . . Forth from this peace on manhood's way thou goest,
> Flushed with resolve and radiant in mail ;
> Blessing supreme for men unborn thou sowest,
> O knight-elect ! O soul ordained to fail !

Rest and repose are never the goal while life lasts :—

> Oh, give my youth, my faith, my sword,
> Choice of the heart's desire :
> A short life in the saddle, Lord,
> Not long life by the fire !

In " The Color-Bearer " all the ugliness of defeat is faced and accepted. There shall be no yielding or evasion ; when battle is over the Leader shall find

> That night in blood-soaked sand
> The stick and rag of Honour
> Safe in a stiffened hand. . . .

It is hard not to continue stringing a chain of such quotable passages ; but we must forbear, even if all we have given be but imperfectly representative. We should be glad to think that our quotations and our remarks might have some practical effect in bringing into a greater number of hands and heads and hearts this admirable poetry—so true a glory of American Catholicism. What a tonic for souls it is ! There is a completeness of beauty in this woman's work. Admirable as were her gifts, they did not remain simply gifts ; they were cultivated severely by intellectual and moral self-discipline. Her singular openness to beauty of all kinds was guarded by a fine realisation of contrasting and varying values. Sense and spirit are found in rare balance. She brings back to us the saying that the singer of noble things " ought himself to be a true poem " ; her poetry was an echo of her life—one might say, an astral body of herself. She was finely opposite to the poet-voluptuary of Watson's quatrain :—

> Too avid of earth's bliss, he was of those
> Whom Delight flies because they give her chase.
> Only the odour of her wild hair blows
> Back in their faces hungering for her face.

She visioned Delight far ahead and aloft ; she steered towards it a steady course, finding pain and pleasure but as mist and air on her way. G. O'Neill

JULIAN THE APOSTATE AND THE RELIGION OF HELLENISM

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY

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THE profound difference in civilisation and character between the Eastern and Western halves of the Roman Empire is nowhere more clearly shown than in the words by which each of them designated the old-world religions displaced by Christianity. Whereas in the west the ancient cults were indifferently lumped together as the practices of *pagani*, country villagers, to be distinguished from the civilised and educated worship of the towns, in the east the exact opposite happened. The names *Hellen* and *Hellenism*, which since the time of Isocrates and the conquests of Alexander the Great had come to be applied to Greek culture rather than to the Greek race, were there retained for the adherents of the old religion and its practice, and the Christian Greeks of the middle ages, down in fact to the revival of Greek nationality with the Kingdom of the Hellenes in the nineteenth century, were careful to mark their adherence to the religion of Constantine by calling themselves universally Romaioi. In the last phases of the struggle between Christianity and heathenism, the Hellenic name, which had first denoted merely linguistic, and then cultural, unity, came to have the significance of religious reaction. The fourth century A.D. saw this reaction arrive at its limit and then suddenly fail forever; and its greatest champion was not himself a Greek by origin nor a Hellene by education, but a Roman Emperor of Illyrian descent and Christian upbringing, Flavius Claudius Julianus, nephew of Constantine the Great, whom after ages have known as Julian the Apostate.

Julian's character and actions have had a perennial fascination for historians, playwrights, and novelists. Extravagantly praised by his partizans, who, however, could not altogether bring themselves to disguise his darker aspects, he was hated with an equal extravagance by those whom he visited with his Imperial displeasure and with the criticism of a skilful man of letters. We are perhaps in a better position to pass impartial judgment on him than on most great characters of ancient times, because not only the praises of his admirers and the fulminations of his enemies, but also a large body of his public writings and his private correspondence have come down to us. The writers of the Byzantine period preserved his works with remarkable impartiality, only excising those passages which seemed too blasphemous to transmit. In the middle ages he was regarded as a pre-figuration of Anti-Christ, and appeared in that capacity in a series of miracle-plays. The first effort at his rehabilitation as a misguided human being was made by a Huguenot in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth he was the subject of many writings, at first by orthodox historians, later by the Deists, to whom, both in England, France, and Germany, he became a kind of incongruous patron-saint. In the nineteenth he was treated in turn as a typical Romantic hero and as a precursor of Nietzsche. The modern literature, both serious and imaginative, dealing with his life and ideals is remarkably plentiful. Within the last year he has been the subject of two valuable monographs.[1]

His whole public career lasted only from November, 355, to June, 363, and he was Roman Emperor only from November, 361, to the latter date. When his strange reign came to its sudden tragic end, he was only in his twenty-ninth year, and seemed to have a lifetime yet left in which to achieve his purpose. For all his youth and the brevity of his rule he remains a figure of con-

[1] J. Bidez: *La Vie de l'Empereur Julien*. Reviewed *Studies*, June, 1931. W. D. Simpson: *Julian the Apostate* (Aberdeen, 1930).

siderable historical importance and of absorbing interest. Called suddenly from the morbid obscurity of his enforced retirement to take up a position second only to that of the reigning Emperor, in a sphere more dangerous by far than that in which his half-brother Gallus had utterly disgraced himself a few years earlier, Julian, at first regarded as a harmless figurehead, soon gave proof of possessing statesmanlike and military gifts of the highest quality. He drove back the invading Germans from Gaul, defeated them in a great battle at Strasbourg, became the idol of his soldiers, and was in a few years in a position to compete for supreme power in the Empire. His victories in Gaul were of the highest importance, and in all probability prevented that province from becoming Alemannia a century and a half before it became Francia. In one of the characteristic manifestoes which he dispatched to the ancient centres of Greek culture, during the preliminary moves of his struggle with his cousin the Emperor Constantius, he gives a vivid account of the scenes which preceded his acceptance of the crown from his enthusiastic soldiers in the palace at Paris. He followed this up by a lightning-like march against his cousin, and a terrible civil war was only prevented by the sudden death of the latter. Already, while on the march, Julian had proclaimed his adhesion to the old religion, which had been in continuous decline since the conversion of his uncle Constantine before the battle of Saxa Rubra in 312. He had in reality, though he outwardly practised Christianity and was apparently a Lector in a Christian church, been a pagan and a devout "Hellenist" long before. No sooner was he undisputed master of the Roman world than he set himself with all the zeal of his emotional temperament to restore, and improve in restoring, the ancient system which the Galileans had overturned.

Many attempts have been made to account for Julian's contemptuous rejection of the religion of his mother, in which he had been carefully instructed by an

Arian bishop. The most favoured, and also the least probable, explanation is that he turned in disgust from the vices and contentions of contemporary Christianity to the purer and more philosophic doctrines and habits of Greek heathenism. That the Christianity of his early years, however hostile may have been his feelings towards it, was profound as far as knowledge went at any rate, is clear from his writings, in some of which he quotes the Scriptures as readily as his alternative Bible, the Homeric poems. His correspondence bears compelling witness to the extent to which his hatred for Christianity was mingled with respect for the charity and piety of its exponents. His whole religious system was in reality an attempt to graft on Hellenism the institutions and the way of life which he admired, in spite of himself, in the Christianity he knew so well. Another explanation of his apostasy is found in the tragic circumstances of his youth. On the death of Constantine in 337, all the male relatives of his house, with the exceptions of Julian and his half-brother, had been murdered at one blow by the army in order apparently to remove all danger from the path of his sons. Apologists for Julian repeatedly declare that Constantius, who then became senior Emperor, was an accessory to this crime. In reality, there is every likelihood that he was not; but in any case it darkened forever afterwards his relations with Julian. The latter has himself left a touching account of how the idea of his cousin's guilt first came to his mind. He was, at the time, being kept in careful ward by the abnormally suspicious and probably shamefaced Emperor; and this discovery on Julian's part, added to the loneliness of his youth, may well have embittered him against the religion professed by his guilty kinsman.

The real explanation of his return to Hellenism, however, is more complex than this. Not only from the testimony of his enemy S. Gregory of Nazianzus, who has left us an invective of unmeasured hostility upon him,

written after his death, but also from the statements of an admiring Pagan like Ammianus Marcellinus, we can form a good idea of Julian's temperament. He seems to have borne all the marks of extreme nervous excitability. He was at once talkative and secretive, proud and prone to anger, capable of forgetting all dignity and self-respect in the eagerness of a moment. He was superstitious to a degree unusual in a credulous age; and his devotion to Hellenism may be seen from his own writings to have been the enthusiasm of a romantic visionary, burning to revive the fancied glories of the past in his own person, rather than the product of any considered philosophic or statesmanlike judgment. His rapidity in action was like that of his uncle Constantine; but he possessed Constantine's passionate nature and the morbid tendencies of Constantius without the firm strength of the former or the caution which in the latter was almost itself a disease. Placed in the environment in which the youthful Julian found himself, snatched as if by a miracle from a terrible fate which had overwhelmed his whole family, steeped in Greek literature, and brought at an early age in admiring contact with a kind of theosophy which added more than the comprehensive allure of the modern variety to the greater seductiveness of its Greek veneer, it is no wonder that such a temperament as Julian's became a willing victim.

In spite of his enthusiasm for Homer and his veneration of Pythagoras and Plato, the paganism which Julian set himself to restore was a religion which none of those fathers of Hellenism would have recognised. Greek paganism at its best and highest was a religion of society, bound up with the welfare of the State, and in fact worshipping the State itself in the form of its tutelary divinities. Drawing as it did its life-blood from a peculiar kind of organised community, the most typical product of the Greek genius, this ancient religion had need of no philosophy and little belief except in the virtues on

which that community prided itself. Behind the City and its religious institutions there stretched ages of folk-superstition and traditional lore, embellished by generations of poets and artists, and embodied in legendary wisdom, of which the State and its religion were infinitely tolerant. The real enemy and the final destroyer of this Hellenic religion was innovation, whether of thought or political action. Ionian and Athenian philosophy and the Macedonian Great State, in which the city was only a unit, destroyed the bases upon which this form of paganism ultimately rested. A bond of union to replace the City State was sought in the worship of the Ruler, who took the place of the tutelary divinity. But this worship never meant more than does the oath of allegiance which displaced it. It was incapable of meeting the religious needs of the individual, who found himself now a unit in a vast society, stranded and helpless on the shore of an illimitable sea. He sought satisfaction in a kind of worship which was old in Greece, and which now received powerful reinforcement from the still older religions of Egypt and Asia. This was the Mystery-cult, of which the most ancient Greek type was the cult of Demeter at Eleusis. Greece had also produced a more universal kind of mystery in Orphism; and to these was now joined a bewildering variety of similar but often more barbarous worships, of which the most famous were those of the Egyptian Isis and the Great Mother of Phrygia, while the latest, and the special devotion of soldiers, was the mystery of the Persian Mithras, identified with the unimportant Greek Helios—the Unconquered Sun.

The Roman Empire was merely a reorganisation, on a still more imposing scale, of the Macedonian Great State. In spite of the revivalist efforts of Augustus, neither the old cults of the Greek cities nor their copies in Rome had any real religious importance in Imperial times; and the Ruler-cult, which the Romans adopted half-heartedly, was even less capable in their hands than

in those of the Macedonians of supplying the religious needs of individualised humanity. The mystery-religions, on the other hand, gained more and more adherents, and the latest of them, that of Mithras, was a phenomenon peculiar to Imperial times. For two centuries Rome tried hard to base her unwieldly Empire on a revivified City State, and in its best days the Empire did in fact approximate to a huge City State Confederacy. These efforts, however, broke down utterly during the fifty years from 235 A.D. to 285, when continual civil war and the first serious barbarian invasions changed the whole character of the Roman world, and ushered in the age of transition to the rural society of the middle ages. The ancient cities shrank in most cases to small fortresses; the middle class, which had been their product, was ground away, and the Empire emerged as a gigantic bureaucracy, unable to stop the ever-growing cleavage between all-powerful nobles and servile common people. In these circumstances the mystery-religions reached their heyday; but there grew up alongside them the religion which was destined to swamp them all, and was alone capable of coping with the new conditions and of supplying a social substitute for the vanished City State.

It was during the anarchy of the third century that Christianity made its greatest strides, and it is significant that it was at this epoch that the State first began seriously to persecute the religion which had merely been frowned upon before as an outlandish and dangerous superstition. Christianity was victorious because it was the creator of a new universal society in place of the old small community which the mystery religions were unable satisfactorily to replace. Its well-planned organisation, its universal charity, its purer ritual and its morality, higher than that of the wisest teachers of the past, beside which the licences either of the old city-religion or of the mysteries were the crudest and most revolting barbarism, probably contributed at least as much to its success as

the promise of salvation, which differed from the promise of the mysteries in that it was made contingent on morality while they depended chiefly on ritual observances. The substitution by Constantine of toleration for the persecutions which had raged before him, and the more active measures taken by his sons in closing temples, diverting their funds to Christian purposes, and granting privileges to the Christian clergy, had all helped to make very serious inroads on the disorganised front of the heterogeneous pagan cults by the time that Julian appeared as rescuer and restorer. Unfortunately the early fourth century was also a period in which both schism and heresy flourished under the new freedom of the Church. Thus Constantius was an Arian, and Julian was himself educated by a noted Arian bishop. As against the quarrels in the Church, of which so much has been made, must, however, be set the fact that even the dissenting sects produced many men of sincere piety and virtue, and that characters like George of Cappadocia were the exception rather than the rule.

Impartial and fully-informed history can scarcely deny the proposition that if some earlier Emperor had possessed the vision and the courage of Constantine, and if Christianity had been adopted as the ally and unifying principle of organised society before the Roman system was shattered and transformed by the long anarchy of the third century, that system, and with it ancient civilisation, might have weathered the storms to which they nearly succumbed. Much is said of the degeneracy of this age by writers to whom degeneracy and Christianity are synonymous terms, as they were to Julian. In reality the fourth century was an age of gigantic personalities, great soldiers, statesmen, and men of letters. Its curiosity about religious matters is also accounted as a mark of its degeneracy. It is depicted as an age of extreme and grovelling religiosity, and its weaknesses are put down to its other-worldliness. In reality, while marked by the

superstitious tendencies always inseparable from paganism and peculiarly apt to flourish when paganism is as bewildered as it then was, it was also an age of the grossest materialism. Its very proneness to charlatanry and magical hocus-pocus, as exemplified in Julian's mentor, Maximus of Ephesus, is itself a proof of materialism rather than the reverse. The mystery-religions were magical rather than moral in character—that is their essential difference from their great rival—and in any case, as Julian's letters abundantly show, their votaries were so sunk in worldliness and easy living that their restoration, after only a short period of official neglect, seemed to require the most drastic and revolutionary changes in their whole character, mechanism, and outlook on life. The real analogue of the mystery-religions is not the contemporary Christianity, with which they are so readily compared, but rather the elaborate hotch-potch of faded paganism and superficial philosophising exemplified in modern times by Theosophy, the Threefold Movement, the veneration of Indian seers and the cult of Chinese sages, all of which signify not religiosity in any real sense, but its negation and the groping by restless souls in the void for a substitute. The mystery-cults were the product of an age of transition between the stability of ancient city-state society and the stability of Christian worship.

Julian attempted to find in what he called Hellenism a means by which he could restore the ancient glories of which he dreamed, without having recourse to the "barbarism" which was all he saw in Christianity. Had his youth been different, he might have made a great man of action, like his uncle, or like his cousin, who for all his faults was a very remarkable man. But his early experiences and his temperament combined made him a man of books, a romantic and emotional visionary, out of place in a world where even his admirers were only rarely prepared to follow him sincerely to the end of his quest. The Hellenism he sought to restore was an artificial com-

pound, created in the hothouse atmosphere of the rhetorical and philosophical schools. The art of fine speech and writing and the pursuit of wisdom had unfortunately been divorced in Greece at their origin in the mutually antagonistic schools of Plato and Isocrates. In the fourth century A.D., when the reorganisation of the Empire and the foundation of Constantinople had produced a revival of prosperity and of Greek culture in the East, there took place a belated reunion of these two forces; the great schools of Antioch, Alexandria and Athens, and the crowd of itinerant professors who had been known since the time of Trajan as sophists, drew together all the resources of literary art and the philosophy of the time in the service of a Hellenic renaissance. Their object was as far as possible to keep alive the traditional glories of ancient Greece. It was no longer possible to enjoy the great Panhellenic festivals, the dramatic productions, or institutions such as the old Greek gymnasium or the Ephebia. The old centres of religion were idle now—the reply of the Delphic oracle to Julian's application for encouragement is familiar—and only shrines of the mysteries like Pessinus and Eleusis were functioning any longer. Thus it happened that the schools of rhetoric and philosophy and the exponents of the mysteries coalesced for a time in a last defence of what they called Hellenism. The schools adopted the jargon of the mysteries; their pupils were initiates, the masters mystagogues, and famous teachers like Iamblichus, Priscus, and Maximus were as much priests and magicians as thinkers and men of letters.

In the background of this revival there was a definite and conscious antagonism to Christianity. It is customary to describe the philosophy taught in the schools of the time as Neo-platonic. This title is suitable only to a certain extent. The first founder of the philosophic revival, Plotinus, who died in 270 A.D., was a genuine philosopher, whose grandiose system had an enormous

influence even on Christian thinkers. His successors, Porphyry (died in 304) and Iamblichus (died about 330), became more and more religious teachers of a theosophical type. Porphyry wrote a famous work, *Against the Christians*, and Iamblichus set himself to construct a remarkable system in which the thought of Plotinus was fused with a symbolic interpretation of the whole range of mystery-religions and the magical " science " of Babylonia. This last had made its way into the Roman Empire as early as the second century, and had as its religious aspect a mystery-worship of Hecate, goddess of the underworld, identified with Rhea, mother of gods and men. Side by side with these philosopher priests went a host of others, like the rhetoricians Libanius and Themistius, who were as much interested in literature as in philosophy or religion. In Julian's youth there were many such teachers active, and the most famous of them was Maximus of Ephesus, whose personal influence on Julian was far greater than is usually thought. They became acquainted, under remarkable circumstances, in 351, when Julian was twenty ; on succeeding to the throne, Julian at once called Maximus to his side, and the philosopher-charlatan remained by him till his death in the Persian desert. More than either Porphyry or Iamblichus, Maximus was a devotee of the mysteries and an adept in magic. Julian first made his acquaintance on being told of some prodigies he had performed, and we possess from the pen of S. Gregory a remarkable, if imaginative, account of Julian's thrilling experiences when initiated by him into the mysteries of Eleusis.

Maximus was, like all the famous men of his school, in one aspect a serious philosopher enough ; but in particular he was a half-sincere, half-calculating dabbler in the occult, and his influence over Julian's superstitious, emotional nature was anything but good. He seems not only to have acquired a hold on his pupil by means of his prodigies, but also to have encouraged in him the belief,

which came naturally to Julian's eager mind, that he was destined to be at once the reincarnation of Marcus Aurelius, the Roman sage, and of Alexander the Great, the Macedonian conqueror. It is highly probable that it was this last idea which sent Julian to his death, after refusing a favourable peace, in his disastrous Persian campaign. Partly from the general teaching of the schools, partly from his own reading in his beloved classics, and partly from the magic of Maximus, Julian conceived the great purpose of his life. His own elaborate creed, penetrated with reminiscences from his Christian upbringing, was an amalgam in which the fashionable philosophy of the time gave an apparently rational basis for a burning devotion to the Oriental mysteries, particularly those of Cybele and Mithras, and to a thirst for omens and prodigies. The philosophers, following Plato, were in theory monotheists, recognising a single First Cause and supreme principle in the universe. In reality they had changed Platonism into pantheism, for they tended to identify this First Cause with its own emanations in the visible world. They saw in the heavenly bodies gods of the second order, with whom they identified, by a series of symbolical interpretations, the whole vast collection of pagan divinities. Julian, like the later successors of Plotinus, admitted the supreme godhead of the First Cause; but he was more interested in the religious side of their teaching, which peopled the whole world with hierarchies of gods, and encouraged both idol-worship and the various types of pagan ritual as being symbolic of men's devotion to the one true God. Into this elaborately ordered pantheism he introduced a certain emphasis on the cult of a Saviour, Mediator, or Logos, whom he identified now with the Mithraic Unconquered Sun, now with Dionysus, now with Asklepios. This emphasis on the cult of a Saviour was undoubtedly a relic of his Christian training.

His most original contribution to the revived Hellenism of the schools was not, however, theological. It was his

practical effort to set up as a rival to Christianity an organised Pagan Church militant. Here also he seems to have got a hint from his predecessors; for Maximin Daia, Emperor over the Eastern provinces from the death of Galerius in 311 to his own defeat by Licinius in 313, had added to his bitter persecution of Christianity a short-lived attempt at a restoration of pagan worship with a disciplined hierarchy distributed in various grades throughout his dominions. It is possible that this reorganisation of Maximin's followed the model of the earlier state-priesthood of the Imperial cult, which itself went back to Egyptian king-worship. Julian seems to have abandoned Emperor-worship altogether as an element in his religious policy. He would be no god, but Pontifex Maximus, High-Priest and general director of paganism. He had himself also made Chief Priest of some of the oriental cults; and his conception of his functions as such was something neither Roman nor Greek, but peculiar to himself. Although he protested against any suggestion that he was an innovator, there is no doubt that he was trying to introduce into Paganism, which its very heterogeneity was destroying, the unity of discipline and direction which was the strength of the Christian Church. The divisions of the fourth century must not disguise from us how imposing this unity must have appeared to the pagan world.

Julian proposed to subdivide the whole Empire into religious units, over each of which was to be a metropolitan, with jurisdiction in turn over the priests of temples and districts in his area. We possess some of the "encyclicals" which Julian addressed to his metropolitans, and in which he tried to lay down a detailed rule for the organisation and governance of their provinces, and for the future well-being of Hellenism. The priests were henceforth to be chosen for their holiness and above all for their "philanthropy"—a quality modelled explicitly on the charity of the Christians. They were to hold services at stated times, to spend fixed periods in

their temples, "engaged in philosophy," and to conduct themselves with the strictest sobriety and dignity, reading only serious literature, absenting themselves from theatres and taverns, and dispensing alms put at their disposal by the Pontifex Maximus himself. Their education was to be on strict Hellenic lines; for Julian, like the sophists of his day, saw a kind of mystic value in Greek literature. He himself quotes Homeric texts on charity and other virtues with an unction probably unexampled in the case of that much-quoted poet. The strictest ritual purity was enjoined on them and on all the Hellenic faithful. In one amusing letter Julian actually prescribes a penance on a lay official who has offended against Apollo. The priests are not to run after officials, but are to be reserved and dignified towards them; "for once the highest lay dignitary enters a temple, he becomes a simple citizen." The theology of this Hellenic cult was to be the later neo-platonic pantheism, and its services were to be based on local practice, with especial emphasis on the learning and regular singing of inspired hymns. Although Julian affected to despise the tendency of Christians to fly the world and lead the lives of hermits, it is noteworthy that he himself wished to institute something similar to monasteries, in which men and women could devote themselves to philosophy. Another startling innovation was his direction that priests should regularly preach to their flocks sermons inculcating not only pagan piety but the Christian virtues of charity, modesty, and humility.

His effort at a pagan revival had a negative as well as a positive aspect. Besides restoring the ruined temples and staffing them with a new priesthood, he aimed a series of severe blows at the Christianity his predecessors had fostered. Pagans took the place of Christians at Court and in the State service, grants and immunities to Christian bishops were withdrawn, and the Emperor's hostility to Christianity increased as resistance stiffened and as the gigantic difficulties of his task became more manifest. In spite of his crowd of philosophic advisers and in spite of

his enormous sacrifices to the gods, which earned him in the army the nickname "victimarius," he found it harder and harder to make headway, and the toleration, which at first he hoped to use as an instrument of division, proved only to strengthen Christian unity. The measure which provoked the most open resistance, and even the criticism of his pagan admirers, was the famous edict by which he excluded Christians from education on Hellenic lines. It was modelled, like his hierarchy of pagan priests, on the earlier legislation of Maximin Daia, who had in addition used forged acts of Pilate as propaganda in the schools. In the period when all the great Fathers of the Church owed their education to sophists—Saints Gregory and Basil had studied in Athens, and S. John Chrysostom, whose sermons revived the glory of the finest Greek prose, was a pupil of Libanius —this edict was a deadly blow. It might, if Julian had survived, have deprived Christianity of one of its most envied weapons—the sermon, which Julian tried to introduce into paganism. But by this time, Christianity had already assimilated all that was best in Hellenic wisdom; it was too late to hope that the Church which had flourished in the catacombs could again be thrust back into unlettered insignificance.

Julian's own character was as much the enemy of his eagerly-sketched plans as the patient Athanasius or the eloquent Gregory. His very extravagance in sacrifice and his readiness to indulge in the less reputable practices of the local heathens excited the ridicule of the Antiochene mob, which was only made louder by his attempt to quell it with somewhat heavy-handed literary irony. The great experiment collapsed with his death, and inspired only fitful emulation afterwards. With its flattering imitation of the thing it tried to destroy, his pagan Church was after all not so much the forerunner of modern infidelity as the last salute of dying heathendom to the institution whose moral superiority it could not fail to recognise.

MICHAEL TIERNEY.

TOM KETTLE: THE ESSAYIST

BY WILLIAM DAWSON

IN St. Stephen's Green Park (Dublin), there stands, and has stood for some years, a plinth on which is engraved the simple inscription—

THOMAS M. KETTLE

1880–1916

All surviving Irishmen of Kettle's age and generation, and I should say most of their seniors, know what this name and these figures indicate; but at least one generation has come into being to which they are almost meaningless. For reasons which it is not proposed to dwell on, the bust which should rest upon this pedestal is now in the National Art Gallery in Merrion Square. Those readers who are not familiar with the career of Tom Kettle, as he was generally known in his day, may find a brief sketch of the man himself not uninteresting.

Tom Kettle was born in 1880 at Artane in County Dublin. His father, Andrew Kettle, a sturdy farmer, was one of the pioneers of the Land League and to the bitter end a staunch supporter of Parnell. Young Kettle was educated at the O'Connell Schools (Richmond Street) and at Clongowes Wood College. After an exceptionally brilliant school career he graduated in the Royal University, attending lectures at University College, Dublin, in the days when the Jesuits had control of that institution. Later he was called to the Bar, but did not follow his profession with any ardour.

Free-lance journalism attracted him from an early age. He edited for a time the college magazine, *St. Stephen's*. An hereditary inclination to politics was

gratified when he became Member of Parliament for East Tyrone in 1906 and joined the Irish Parliamentary Party. After six months or more spent in the United States collecting funds for the Home Rule cause, Kettle returned to Ireland. He speedily made a name in the House of Commons, identifying himself chiefly with the Bill for the establishment of the National University. When that University had been set up, he resigned from Parliament and became the first professor of National Economics in University College, Dublin. In 1909 he married a daughter of David Sheehy. They had one child, a girl. He threw himself into the National Volunteer Movement, and when the War broke out in 1914, he followed the lead of Mr. John Redmond. As a natural consequence he was given a commission, and after the distressing and disheartening task of seeking recruits in Ireland for the British Army, he took his place, as he had long wished to do, among the fighting men. In the autumn of 1916 he was killed in action at Ginchy.

Such is a bare outline of Kettle's short life, and it conveys no idea of the man nor of a personality that for a number of years was outstanding in Irish public life. I have, of course, purposely refrained from more than alluding to his literary activities, as it is proposed to deal later with these in detail. From 1904 Kettle was a constant contributor to the *Freeman's Journal*. For a few months in 1905 he edited a short-lived, brilliant, but ill-starred weekly, *The Nationist*. He wrote numerous essays for periodicals in Ireland, England and the United States. As a speaker he made a high reputation on Irish platforms and in the British Parliament. He was chiefly celebrated, perhaps, for his conversation, for his wit, and for the magnetic charm which he exercised over those who formed his company. This was particularly noticeable in his university circle. The violent changes which, since 1916, have swept over Irish politics have well-nigh obliterated all traces of men even more prominent than Tom Kettle,

and his memory has, therefore, like that of many, suffered an undeserved eclipse.

Now, as one who may with justice style himself a disciple of Kettle's—I had the pleasure and the privilege of his friendship for close on twenty years—I have restrained myself, and hope to continue so to do, from undue adulation of him or of his abilities. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that in his time he stood head and shoulders above the men of his own age.

Requests for him poured into the headquarters of the United Irish League when speakers were needed for public meetings. These comments on his writings, therefore, could not more fittingly commence than with an extract from his Introduction to *Irish Orators and Oratory*, which reads as follows :—

> Oratory is . . . complex, diffuse, netted beyond release in impermanent details. Its triumph is of the moment, momentary. The sound and rumour of great multitudes, passions hot as ginger in the mouth, torches, tumultuous comings and goings, and, riding through the whirlwind of it all, a personality with something about him of the prophet, something of the actor, a touch of the charlatan, crying out not so much with his own voice as with that of his multitude, establishing with a gesture, refuting with a glance, stirring ecstasies of hatred and affection—is not that a common, and far from fantastic, conception of the orator ?

That passage affords a good specimen of Kettle's style. It gives also one facet at least of Kettle himself. The Introduction contains certain *dicta* which may be quoted to illustrate his powers of concise and yet vivid description :—

> Parnell spoke like an invoice, definite to the third decimal point, and final.

> The thunders of the Titan [O'Connell] were often vulgar . . . but he took his people by the twenty and the two hundred thousand and shouted slaves into the status of manhood.

The whole of this essay—one of Kettle's best—is made up of excellent and indeed brilliant writing. The charge

has been brought against Kettle that he was too much of a stylist, too fond of epigram, too eager to be brilliant. But hear his defence :—

> The epigrammatist too and the whole tribe of image-makers dwell under a disfavour far too austere. We must distinguish. There is in such images an earned and an unearned increment of applause. The sudden, vast, dazzling, and deep-shadowed view of traversed altitudes that breaks on the vision of a climber who, after long effort, has reached the mountain-top is not to be grudged him. And the image that closes up in a little room the infinite riches of an argument carefully pursued is not only legitimate but admirable.

Kettle loved to write, as he loved to talk, glowingly. He worked into his written words the deep, rich music that he put into his speech. He did not hesitate to employ tricks of style. The aid of apt alliteration he availed of amply ; he rejoiced in paradox and in epigram ; he did not shun the art of antithesis in ideas or in words. Although he tells us in his " apology " to *The Day's Burden* that originality was " no toy left in my cradle by a fairy Godmother," he was altogether fresh and original in his outlook and in his mode of expression. There are, however, two writers of modern times to whom it may be said that Kettle was indebted—two very different men in many ways, yet not so dissimilar in certain respects as might be thought. These are Oscar Wilde and G. K. Chesterton. The influence of Wilde on his style is naturally more noticeable in his earlier writings, and, with some exceptions, Kettle's early writings are his best. If one might use the term, there is a hard, sparkling, polished brilliance about his earlier work as compared with the softer, smoother style when he was in the Chestertonian vein. He combined the wit of Wilde with the cheeriness of Chesterton.

The books which Kettle has left us are indeed few. In verse we have only one slender volume, produced posthumously and entitled *Poems and Parodies*. In prose there are *The Day's Burden* ; *Miscellaneous Essays*, a

collection mostly of essays written for different papers and journals; *The Open Secret of Ireland*, a purely political tract dealing with the Home Rule problem as it stood when this century was in its 'teens; a work on Irish Finance, likewise political; *The Ways of War*, published also after his death and notable for an excellent memoir of him by his widow; and a few other essays, such as the Introduction to *Irish Orators*, from which I have already quoted. His translation of Paul Dubois' book on Ireland, to which he also wrote a preface of great brilliance, cannot, of course, be claimed as one of his writings.

Kettle had for a precept, or I should say more accurately that it was one of his maxims, that Ireland to become "deeply Irish must first become European." In that dictum we get two clear views of his mentality. We see that he was national in his soul and cosmopolitan in his outlook. Insularity and provincialism had no part in his composition. He did not make the mistake either so common in this country with writers and would-be thinkers, of regarding everything as good so long as it is English. Nor did he fall a victim to an error little less common of holding that because a thing is English it is necessarily vile. Again, he laid down as his "programme" for Ireland: "Home Rule and the Ten Commandments in equal parts." This is, as it were, a confession of faith. One finds throughout Kettle's writings that he never disguised his nationality nor his religion. Never did he despise or decry either. The same cannot be said of all Irish Catholics who have made, or have sought to make, a name for themselves in the literary world. It is not asserting too much to say that had Kettle been more ready to accommodate himself on these heads to the English, and in particular to the London market, he could have made more money and would have earned a more enduring fame.

Though Kettle was a wit, he was not a jester. He was

no mere " wag," as the term is. There was a strain of melancholy in him. As he says of Ophelia, he was " organised for unhappiness " ; and this found expression in what he wrote, especially in his verse. Naturally something sardonic, something ironic pervaded his writings as well as his utterances. He has written somewhere that the author who would write of Ireland " must wield a two-edged sword, with irony for one of its edges and enthusiasm for the other." There is much irony in Kettle's writing ; he is a superb satirist, yet he does not despair. He as been styled a cynic, but let us not forget that he preached the doctrine that " cynicism, however excusable in literature, is in life the last treachery, the irredeemable defeat." Professor Clery has stated[1] that one must go back to Swift himself for satire such as that of which Kettle was a master. For my part, however, I think there is a wide gulf between the *saeva indignatio*, the savage, scarcely sane satire of Swift and the mordant, keen, yet wholly Christian, satire of Tom Kettle. We might not unjustly call Kettle the Apostle of " Christian Cynicism "—if one may take the liberty of indulging in such a paradox.

Kettle's prose writings may be classed under different headings. There are those devoted to politics ; those which have life in its larger aspects for their theme ; some which concern themselves with literary and dramatic issues. As a " gesture " towards his professorial chair he dabbled a little in Economics. Outside his class-hall, however, this topic did not engross him ; nor within it either, from all I have been told. What he had to say on national truths in his political essays is still of interest, but politics themselves are ephemeral, and party politics as distinguished from patriotic principles wane in course of time. Let us be thankful that this is so. In an address delivered to the Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League—a Branch in which youth was more con-

[1] *Studies*, Dec. 1916, p. 514.

spicuous than unity—Kettle wrote an oft-quoted passage, which applies to all nations seeking to achieve freedom through agitation :—

> If you engage in politics in Ireland—points must be remembered. You would do well to study the novitiate through which an idea passes before it becomes a law. It arises out of misery and contains in it the salvation of a countryside, the State welcomes it with a policeman's baton. It recovers ; the State puts it in jail, on a plank bed and feeds it on skilly. It becomes articulate in Parliament ; a Statesman from the moral altitude of £5,000 a year denounces it as the devilish device of a hired demagogue. It grows old, almost obsolete, no longer adequate ; the Statesman steals it, embodies it in an act, and goes down to British history as a daring reformer.

There is the political history of Ireland through the nineteenth century down to our own time. There are the conditions that obtain in India to-day. It is, no doubt, unnecessary to point out that when Kettle mentioned the " State " in 1910, he was not referring to the then unborn and unthought of entity which our jurists mean by such a term to-day. In this connection " State " stands for Government—in the abstract—and he defined it thus :—

> The State is the name by which we call the great human conspiracy against hunger and cold, against loneliness and ignorance ; the State is the foster-mother and warden of the arts, of love, of comradeship, of all that redeem from despair that strange adventure that we call human life.

That last quotation is a very typical specimen of Kettle's style and a very characteristic sample of his political outlook. As Professor Clery has pointed out, he secures his great effect by a trick ; by the deliberate misuse of the word " conspiracy." Edmund Burke called the State a " partnership," but " conspiracy " is a more striking metaphor. This particular device has been rather severely criticised ; but who will deny the ingenuity, the cunning with which it is employed ? I submit that it earns its " increment of applause."

In dealing with Kettle the temptation to quote from him is irresistible. In the circumstances it is not only admirable but in fact legitimate to do so. It is pleasant to have a temptation to which one may lawfully yield. Like Shakespeare, in whose works he was well versed, Kettle is "full of quotations." And since Shakespeare has been mentioned, I set down a few lines from a very entertaining and highly original essay on "Hamlet" which is included in *The Day's Burden*. The "melancholy Dane" and the "melancholy Jacques" were prototypes of Kettle. He found an "Elsinore" in Earlsfort Terrace and an "Arden" in Artane. He asks us to analyse the interpretation of Hamlet, the Prince, popularised by certain eminent critics :—

> The kernel of it is this. It demands in the place of Hamlet a crude, gory, gullible, instantaneous savage who not only believes in ghosts but lacks even the elementary savage's knowledge that there are evil as well as good ghosts. . . . The commercial blandness with which people talk of Hamlet's "plain duty" makes one wonder if they recognise such a thing as plain morality. The "removal" of an uncle without due process of law and on the unsupported statement of an unsubpoenable ghost; the widowing of a mother . . . are treated as enterprises about which no man has a right to hesitate or even feel unhappy.

Most delightful of all, however, is his attack on Horatio, that over-rated "good companion" :—

> He enjoys the reputation of being the strong silent man. He is at Elsinore two months before he thinks it worth while to call on his old friend . . . At the first appearance of the ghost he has not wit enough to address it in Latin, though that is what he was brought there for by Marcellus. At the second appearance he is not able even to tell Hamlet the time. When Marcellus urges him to follow Hamlet and his ghostly visitant, Horatio exclaims: "Heaven will direct it" . . . In fact from beginning to end he is a wandering ineptitude whose speech consists mainly of "Ay, my Lords" . . . and other helpful phrases . . . He is prayed to absent himself from felicity awhile . . . and absents himself as long as possible. And this is the strong silent man after whom Hamlet should have modelled himself! In truth, he compares poorly with Osric, who was at any rate a stylist.

I have dealt with Horatio at such length, because in these caustic comments we get Kettle's contempt for that bugbear of all intelligent folk, "the strong silent man." Kettle had a much higher opinion of "the gusty and barren metaphysician," as jestingly he called Hamlet.

Kettle was essentially a stylist. He was an artist in words. True, he did not wave his bonnet like Osric, but he took a proper pleasure in the right use of words. He was fond of imagery in his talk and writing, and, in especial, he liked to use biblical terms or similes taken from church ceremonial. To some this may sound profane, and indeed Kettle did often shock or, anyhow, startle companies and assemblies not familiar with his methods. Such a phrase as that which made Jennings Bryan world-famed—"crucifying mankind upon a cross of gold"—was one after his own heart. There was something too much of this, perhaps, as Hamlet would say. He was, however, in no way irreverent; but the weaving of a coloured pattern from such material made appeal to him. A famous phrase of his, used in connection with the partition of Ireland, was that we must not "rend the seamless garment of Irish Nationality." Such words as "chalice" and "sacrament," "chrism" and "oil" abound in his pages. Of Belgium he said: "She saved others, herself she cannot save." Of Ireland: "She has not gained the world, but she has come perilously near losing her own soul."

Reference has already been made to the maxims which abound in Kettle's writings. Here are a few examples :—

Life is growth, growth is change, and the one thing of which we are certain is that society must keep moving on. "Freedom is a battle and a march." It has many bivouacs, but no barracks.

Ireland is an island separated from Great Britain by the Irish Sea—and the Act of Union.

It is with ideas as with umbrellas: if left lying about, they are peculiarly liable to change ownership.

No citizen or section of citizens is as likely to conduct the

Government for the general benefit as the whole body of citizens acting in concert.

Optimism and Pessimism are . . . primary colours of mind, positive and negative polarities . . . they are . . . the day and night of the human spirit . . .

If too much unearned property is the grave of freedom, some earned property with the seal of service on it is the cradle of freedom.

You can no more get a bar of Caruso for nothing than you can get a bar of soap for nothing.

Regret has often been expressed that Kettle has not left more literary work behind him. In general terms this is true; but, as he would say himself, "we must distinguish." He was essentially an essayist. The late Lord Birkenhead, in a compilation of "The Hundred Best Essays," include's Kettle's "On Crossing the Irish Sea," from which I have cited an epigram and from which I shall presently cite a longer passage. The essay was the form of literary activity that he most admired. That is not to say that he did not take a keen interest in the drama, in fiction, in biography, or in the numerous forms that literature may assume. In his day he must have written a great number of "leading articles," and that in a period when those informing and guiding commentaries on affairs were taken more seriously than is now the case. The essay, however, was his particular machine. The art of condensation is essential to the essay, and Kettle was a master of this art. He could say in a sentence what many other writers would pan out over a page. Thomas Kettle has been compared to Thomas à Kempis in this—that a little of each goes a long way. You bite off a small portion, so to speak, and chew on it. There is matter for meditation in each sentence. The same comment is true of Wilde. Therefore it follows that one essay by Kettle—full like an egg of meat—sustains the reader for quite a time. A happy consequence, also, is

that one can easily remember the things that he has written. Kettle, therefore, does not lose through not having written enough; he does lose through not being read enough—and he is not alone the loser. Whoever has not read "On Crossing the Irish Sea" has lost much. This is the foreshadowed quotation:—

> Ireland has been finally conquered at least three times; she has died in the last ditch three times; she has been a convict in the dock, a corpse on the dissecting table, a street-dog yapping at the heels of empire, a geographical expression, a misty memory. And with an obtuseness to the logic of facts which one can only call mulish, she still answers "Adsum." Her interdicted flag still floats at the masthead, and, brooding over the symbol, she still keeps building an impossible future on an imaginary past. English parties in turn wipe her for ever off the slate of practical politics. . . . New battalions loom up to the right wing or the left; and the Tory press remembers the phrase of the Confederate general: "There comes that damned green flag again"!

In the last two years of his life, from autumn, 1914, to autumn, 1916, he wrote solely on the War. The world was out of joint, and it was, indeed, a cursed spite that he was born "to do his bit" to set it right—by force of arms. Much of what he set down in this connection was published after his death in *The Ways of War*. No less eminent a critic than Robert Lynd says of this book: "These chapters bring us into intimate touch with a noble and sensitive spirit, and remind us that in Tom Kettle not only Ireland but Europe lost . . . a remarkable man of letters." He calls it "the most attractive and eloquent book of prose . . . written by a soldier during the . . . War." That is high praise. Elsewhere the book has been styled an *Apologia pro vita sua*. It is something much more interesting and important; it is an *Apologia pro morte sua*. We learn from it, not why Kettle lived, but why he died,

That Kettle, a philosopher, a university professor, an essayist, a poet, should have died a soldier was a thing strange in itself. It would at least have been strange,

if like things had not happened the world over in the mad and bloody years from 1914 to 1918. But soldier or no soldier, Kettle hated war itself. He denounces in this book, as a species of " atheism," the view that war is a " sort of natural calamity," and he denounces the type of mind that deems a war " inevitable." He was no believer in " the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." He knew too much about the filth and degradation of the foul outrage.

Here we get a glimpse, and a great deal more than a mere glimpse, of his wonderful skill in rhetoric, his power of invective. The " Blood and Iron-mongers," as he styles the Prussians, are the particular objects of his slashing attacks. Now and again we get passages in the lighter, more familiar vein, such as the chapter on " G.H.Q." Its vigour—what Mr. Lynd calls " its style, its bravura, its knightliness "—induces the hope that it may hold its place in a field of literature overgrown with such striking and startling wild flowers—*fleurs de la guerre*—as *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *Journey's End*, and the rest.

A man of keen individual mind, disposed to sceptical outlook and cynical comment, Kettle had a firm and intense belief in humanity in bulk, in the collective wisdom of mankind. He had a great love of humanity. No one had less the " herd mind," the " mob mind," than Kettle. In fact his inclination in company was to argument rather than to agreement ; bravely to maintain a fantastic point of view was a joy to him. Even the criminal had some share in his Christian charity, as witness the following paragraphs from " Reveries of Assize " :—

> Seven or eight days in an Assize Court help one to understand the anarchist and his attitude towards crime . . . one will take a human not a judicial view of things . . . One does feel intensely that these legal forms and moulds are too narrow, too icily definite, too blank to psychology to contain the passionate chaos of life that is poured into them . . . one has no substitute to offer for criminal law and, perhaps, equally for criminal civilisation. Still, one is conscious of a vague protest against it all. In crime, in

moral evil, the veiled destinies have set mankind a problem too hard to understand, too heavy to endure.

Since Kettle's civil career culminated in the chair of National Economics at University College, a few words from him with regard thereto are not out of place. In an essay on the " Economics of Nationalism," he writes :--

A good many critics, endowed with that verbal deftness so characteristic of Irish critics, have said to me : " You have a Chair of National Economics in your College. Have you also by any chance a Chair of National Trigonometry or National Biology ? " The gibe does not go home. So long as you keep to the sphere of the highly abstract sciences, any limiting particularity is certainly incongruous. . . . A National Mathematics is absurd ; a National Biology is not quite so absurd, seeing that each country has its own peculiar flora and fauna. When you come to National Economics the incongruity has wholly disappeared. . . . Since one nation is at one stage of growth and another at another, and since the economy of each is, so to say, steeped and soaked in its temperament and history, your corpus of fact will in each case be strongly individual.

Kettle was in part a poet, in part a prophet. A decade before his death he wrote in his essay on " Saying Good-bye " :—

Life is a perpetual dying. Death is not an eccentricity but a settled habit of the Universe. The drums of to-day call to us as they call . . . in the fifth Act of *Hamlet* over corpses piled up in such abundance as to be almost ridiculous. We praise the pioneer, but let us not praise him on wrong grounds. His strength lies not in leaning out to new things . . . but in his power to abandon old things. " There is always blood in the fifth Act." Humility bids us pray that in that fifth Act we may have good lines and a timely exit. But, fine or feeble, there is comfort in breaking the parting word into its two significant halves—*à Dieu*.

That was prophetic of his own fate.

William Dawson

IRISH MISSIONARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY REV. JOHN COLGAN, D.D.
Editor of the *Southern Cross*

OF the four provinces which compose the Union of South Africa—namely, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape—only the last mentioned was to any notable extent the scene of the missionary labours of Irish bishops and priests. Irish nuns, of course, who are more daring and efficient in their methods of "peaceful penetration," have found their way into every nook and corner of the sub-Continent. You will find them in the principal cities successfully holding their own in the work of higher education; in the lonely dorps patiently laying the foundations of the life of grace in the souls of a handful of children in an atmosphere of intense and bitter Calvinism; in the Native territories laboriously fitting "black souls" for heavenly citizenship —far away, thank God, from the corrupting influence of what is called "European civilization" (a word to conjure with in South Africa, where a million and a half whites fondly hope to keep in a condition not far removed from slavery a Native population of six millions).

The first Europeans who came to South Africa were, of course, Catholics (Protestantism did not exist then), and their first act was a religious act. They were Portuguese, and the standard they hoisted was not the standard of Portugal but that of the Kingdom of God. In August, 1486, Bartholomew Dias erected a cross at Angra Pequena and later on in the same voyage another, which gave its name to Santa Cruz, in Algoa Bay. At this latter place the historian speaks of "religious rites." Was there a priest on board; and, if so, was it South Africa's first Mass? St. Francis Xavier rounded the Cape. Did he land there,

and did he celebrate Mass ? If some Jesuit scholar in Europe, who has access to ancient records, can prove that he did, the present writer (who said his first Mass at the shrine of him whose " Francis, what doth it profit " gave the Church of God the greatest missionary since the days of St. Paul) will erect on the shores of Table Bay a shrine to the Apostle of the Coloured People.

The first church in the southern hemisphere was in the island of St. Helena. This was made a place of call by the Portuguese, and the first house (for a long time the only house) they built there was the house of God. Too many misfortunes were associated with the " Stormy Cape " for them to wish to stop there ; so as a rule they sailed from St. Helena right round to Mozambique.

These golden days passed away, and the Dutch and English stepped into the place of the Portuguese. Whatever the political world may have gained by the change, the Catholic Church, for a time at least, was practically shut out of South Africa. Van Riebeek landed in the Cape in 1651, and in 1688 came the French Huguenots and Dutch refugees, bringing with them their new religion (Calvinism). What Catholicism in Australia owes to Irish immigration Protestantism in South Africa owes to Dutch and Huguenot occupation. In the following years the Great Trek took place to the Free State and the Transvaal. Thus a Calvinistic Protestantism became entrenched in the greater part of South Africa, and it has remained so to this day.

In 1674 we learn that the Catholic Church was present in the Cape at least in its laity. While obliged to submit to the privation of public worship, they were anxious about the public recognition of the baptism of their children. We get a more interesting glimpse in the year 1685, when six Jesuits called here on their way to Siam, having been sent thither with the embassy for scientific purposes by Louis XIV. They were kindly received by the Governor, Van der Stel, and were granted an obser-

vatory in Cape Town. "Hardly had we taken possession of our little observatory," one of them writes, "when the Catholics of this Colony, who are fairly numerous, got to hear of it and showed very great joy. . . . Those who who could not express themselves otherwise knelt and kissed our hands. They drew their rosary beads from their necks to show us that they were Catholics; they wept and struck their breasts. . . . We visited the sick in their houses and the hospitals. It was all we could do to console them in so short a time, seeing that they were not allowed to come on board to hear Mass and we were not allowed to say it on shore. When two of our fathers were returning one day from the ship with a microscope covered with gold cloth, two or three of the inhabitants walking on the beach thought it was the Blessed Sacrament we were carrying in a pyx for the Catholics. They came up to see what it was; the Father told them, and to prove it made them look into the microscope."

From 1686 the Catholic Church disappears from the pages of South African history. Whatever aspirations individuals may have had after religious liberty were effectively quenched. But when the Dutch returned after the temporary English occupation, a breath of freedom came with them. In July, 1804, Commissioner General de Mist published his ordinance on toleration. This became our Magna Charta, and at once the Catholics availed themselves of it. Three Dutch priests came to the Colony, and a room in the Castle was put at their disposal. In the very next year, however, our new-born freedom received a severe rebuff at the hands of the English, and the priests were ordered to leave. But on the following year better counsels prevailed as the result of the intervention of Bishop Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the English Midlands District.

The next event of interest in the history of the Church in the Cape was the arrival in 1820 of the Vicar Apostolic of Mauritius, Dr. Slater, who was accompanied by three

priests, one of whom, Father Scully, he left at the Cape. At the time Cape Colony was an ecclesiastical appendage of the island of Mauritius. Father Scully's sojourn at the Cape was not a happy one. He had been forced to accept an arrangement whereby the Catholic Church was governed on Presbyterian lines. The free exercise of the Catholic religion was permitted only on condition that churchwardens should be appointed to control the parish finances. A church was built, mostly with borrowed money. What with financial difficulties, discord among his congregation, the growing hostility on the part of the civil authorities, the good priest found his position more than flesh and blood could bear, and in 1824, taking advantage of a passing ship, he left the Colony and his troubles behind him for ever.

This was the state of things when our countrymen, at the suggestion of the Sovereign Pontiff himself, made their appearance on the mission field of South Africa. Monsignor Brady, on his way from the Isle of Bourbon, calling at the Cape and seeing the spiritual destitution of the Catholics there, carried a petition to the Pope. The result was that in the month of August, 1837, Rev. Patrick Griffith, O.P., Administrator of Westland Row parish, Dublin, was consecrated bishop in his parish church, and arrived in Cape Town on the 14th April, 1838, as the first Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope. Bishop Griffith lost no time in intimating to the churchwardens, who met him on his arrival and escorted him to the shore, that he would permit them no share in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. In 1839 he purchased as a site for a church what was known in Cape Town as "Tanner's Square." On this site—one of the very best in the city—St. Mary's Cathedral now stands. It was dedicated in 1851.

St. Peter's College, Wexford, has the distinction of being the first nursery of Irish missionaries to the Cape. Early in 1838 Bishop Griffith paid a visit to the College

and persuaded Dr. Devereux (at the time professor of rhetoric there, and formerly vice-rector of the Irish College in Rome), Mr. Murphy, junior professor of humanity (not at the time in priest's orders), and Mr. Browning (who died a few months after his arrival in Cape Town) to accompany him to the Cape. There is mention at the same time of a Father Corcoran, O.P., who was the first priest at Port Elizabeth, and who died in South America, whither he had gone to collect funds for the building of a church, of Rev. Dr. Burke, who died in 1839 in Grahamstown, and of Father Hartigan at Uitenhage. It is to be presumed that all six accompanied Bishop Griffith on his first expedition to the Cape.

Of this band of pioneers more than one was destined to make history in the Church of South Africa. Dr. Devereux became the first Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Vicariate of the Cape of Good Hope, and Father Murphy, who was ordained priest in a room in the military barracks in Cape Town, made for himself an imperishable reputatio as a zealous and undaunted missionary in the Eastern parts of the Colony.

From Cape Town the faith moved eastwards. Bishop Griffith had visited Port Elizabeth, and from there had gone on horseback to Grahamstown, Cradock, Graaff Reinet, and Fort Beaufort, finding a handful of Catholics here and there, most of them ignorant of their religion or lukewarm in its practice. In 1839 Father Murphy was sent to Grahamstown to minister to the Irish Catholic soldiers, who formed a large proportion of the army guarding the frontiers in the days of the Kaffir wars. One of his first duties after his arrival was to give the last sacraments to his brother-in-arms, Rev. Dr. Burke. As Father Murphy knelt beside the dead body of his brother priest, the field-cornet entered and asked him if he had killed his friend—an instance of the stupid prejudice against which the early Irish missionaries had to struggle. When Father Murphy arrived in Grahamstown there

was, in the whole of what is now known as the Eastern Vicariate of the Cape Colony, only one church—if the miserable building which did service as chapel, school, and residence could be dignified with the name. His work of ministering to the needs of his soldier flock necessitated long and tedious journeys. Nevertheless in the midst of his heavy labours he found time to collect money to build a church. St. Patrick's, Grahamstown, is a monument to his zeal and to the generosity of his flock—the Irish soldiers who bore the brunt of the Kaffir wars of 1846 and 1851. It was dedicated in 1844, Bishop Griffith going all the way from Cape Town for the occasion.

St. Patrick's was the scene of many epoch-making events in the history of the Colony. In 1851 it was fortified as a place of refuge for the citizens, the nuns and children taking refuge in the sanctuary and the people in the body of the church. It was at another time equipped as a fort, though the Kaffirs, who often appeared on the neighbouring heights, never actually attacked the town. It was in St. Patrick's too that many years afterwards, namely in 1875, High Mass was sung to call down God's blessing on the Jesuit missionaries who were about to set out on their " Great Trek " to the Zambesi to add another province to the Church's empire.

The Eastern Vicariate of the Cape of Good Hope was established in 1847, Dr. Devereux being the first Vicar Apostolic. He was consecrated in Cape Town by Bishop Griffith, under whom he had worked for nine years. His work was rendered difficult by insufficiency of priests and by the turmoil of the Kaffir wars. A little more than six years after his appointment as Vicar Apostolic death took him from his labours and his trials.

It is necessary to return again to Father Murphy to complete the sketch of the early days in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony. In 1852 Bishop Devereux removed him from Grahamstown to Port Elizabeth. By that time his name and his fame had gone all over the

Colony. His untiring zeal, his courtesy, his splendid horsemanship (his famous black horse with Father Murphy "up" was the pride of the Irish soldiers and the envy of the mounted men of the Border troops) had won him friends and admirers even amongst the most bigoted of Protestants.

In those days Port Elizabeth, now the most important commercial and industrial centre in South Africa, was only a "dorp." In 1840 we are told there were forty Catholics there. A dilapidated building, which did service as school and chapel, and a cemetery were the only Catholic possessions in the place. The first interment which took place in the cemetery was that of twenty Spanish sailors, who lost their lives in a shipwreck off the coast of Cape Recife while bound from the Philippines to Cadiz. The present handsome church of St. Augustine's, which is one of the landmarks of Port Elizabeth, is the work of Father Murphy. The foundation stone was laid on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, 3 December, 1861. More than £8,000 was collected—a mighty sum of money when one considers what a poor and scattered flock the Catholics of the time were; but in Port Elizabeth as in Grahamstown the generosity of the Irish soldiers and immigrants was Father Murphy's chief asset. The labours of this great Irish priest are an inspiration to those who come after him. In 1861 he received from the Holy Father the degree of doctor of divinity *honoris causa* and was appointed domestic prelate. He died in 1872, loved and honoured by all who had come into contact with him.

To continue this history of the work of Irish missionaries in the Cape, it will be necessary to deal separately with the two vicariates into which up to very recent times the Colony was divided: the Western Vicariate, which centres at Cape Town, and the Eastern Vicariate, which centres at Grahamstown.

Bishop Griffith died in 1862, and was buried in St. Mary's Cathedral. Before his death he had the happiness

of seeing missions established in the principal suburbs of Cape Town and at Oudtshoorn, some three hundred miles from the coast. He was succeeded by his co-adjutor, Dr. Grimley, a native of Fingal, Co. Dublin. Dr. Grimley brought out the Irish Dominican Sisters and the Marist Brothers, both pioneers of education in the Western Cape. He died in 1871, just after his return from the Vatican Council. In a letter to the Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda, written in 1869, he states that there were only eight priests in the whole of his vast vicariate, and that the mass of the population was profoundly hostile. As an instance of this, he mentions that one of his priests, when travelling through the country, was taken for a Protestant minister and given a bedroom by the wife of a Boer. When the good lady, however, discovered that she was sheltering a Catholic priest she transferred his quarters to a stable, though she showed signs of relenting when her guest remarked that if a stable was good enough for his Master, it was too good for him.

Dr. John Leonard, who was formerly a curate at Blanchardstown, Dublin, was the next Vicar Apostolic of the Western Cape. During the thirty-five years of his episcopate he gave to priests and laity an inspiring example of priestly life and holiness. His time was spent mostly in the saddle or Cape cart, traversing his vicariate from end to end, visiting the most distant dorps, and going hundreds of miles to give even one Catholic the opportunity of making his Easter duty. If he could not be described as a scholarly man, and if the educational problems which called for his attention were at times too much for him (his was a period of transition, when the Cape Colony was fast developing into a progressive and enlightened political unit), he had the mind and heart of an apostle. At his death in 1908 there were 33 priests in his vicariate, 153 religious, 19 churches, and 20 elementary schools. The name of the family is perpetuated in "Leonard's Corner," in the city of Dublin, where his

brother up to very recent years carried on the trade of wine merchant. To mention Bishop Leonard's name to the old Irish people of Cape Town to-day is to bring tears to their eyes—*talium est enim regnum caelorum.*

Trained in the school of Dr. Leonard and aiming always to follow in his footsteps, the Right Rev. John Rooney became Vicar Apostolic in 1908. The burdens of office were no novelty to him; for he had been co-adjutor bishop for twenty two years before the death of Bishop Leonard. He was a native of Kildare and was educated in the College of Propaganda in Rome. He died on the 18 February, 1927, two years after ill-health had compelled him to resign from office. For fifty-three years he laboured as priest and bishop in the Western Vicariate. His life of voluntary poverty and detachment might be taken as an example even in the cloister. Under his kindly rule considerable progress was made in educational and other respects. He introduced the nursing order of the Holy Family Sisters and the Good Shepherd nuns into Cape Town, and built several churches. He was succeeded by the Right Rev. Bernard O'Riley—the first South African born bishop of the Western Vicariate.

To return to the East. On the death of Dr. Devereux the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide appointed Dr. Moran, who had been a curate in Irishtown, Dublin, Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Vicariate. He arrived in Grahamstown in 1856, and soon gave proof that he was a zealous priest and an able administrator. The Sacred Congregation must have got to know this; for in 1870 he was transferred to Dunedin, New Zealand, as the first bishop of that see. The next year the Rev. J. D. Ricards was consecrated bishop in Grahamstown. Like Dr. Devereux, he had been recruited for the South African mission field in St. Peter's College, Wexford; and, as in the case of Dr. Moran, his brilliant attainments almost resulted in South Africa losing her most illustrious prelate. In 1876 he was voted *dignissimus* by the clergy for the

vacant bishopric of Ferns, his native diocese. He declined the honour, preferring to labour and die in the land of his adoption. Dr. Ricards, before his appointment as vicar apostolic, had already spent twenty-two years in South Africa, and had made a reputation as a writer, lecturer, and pastor. He edited a paper called the *Colonist*. He deserves to be regarded as a pioneer not only of the Catholic faith but of culture in general in the sub-Continent. All the hardships which his predecessors endured he was called upon to face, and he faced them joyfully. More than once did the roar of lions disturb his sleep on the open veldt as he rested, with his saddle for a pillow, after the day's labours. Chevalier Lynch, who frequently accompanied him on his journeyings, would always refer to him as "Dr. Ricards," in order to save him from the unfriendly attentions of the Boer farmers. The latter, concluding that he was a medical man, would not only receive him kindly, but would also bring their sick and ailing to him. The bishop was never at a loss in an emergency of this sort; for he was a firm believer in the efficacy of castor oil and wormwood tea.

It would take much space to narrate all that Bishop Ricards did for the cause of Catholicism and education in the Eastern Vicariate. He introduced the Marist Brothers and the Dominican nuns to his Vicariate. But, what was most important of all his works, he established the Jesuit College of St. Aidan's, Grahamstown. Not only does South Africa owe the education of thousands of her sons to St. Aidan's, but the great venture known as the Zambesi Mission was thought out and begun there. St. Aidan's is the cradle of the faith which now flourishes in the land of Cecil Rhodes. A severe illness which overtook him some years before his death checked the activities of this most apostolic missionary. In 1891 Dr. Strobino (an Italian priest) was appointed co-adjutor. Two years afterwards Dr. Ricards, on 30 November 1893, breathed his last in Grahamstown. The principal newspaper of

that city gave expression to the popular verdict when it said of him: "Verily was he a man about whom it may, humanly speaking, be said that he was without spot or blemish." Three years after the decease of Dr. Ricards his successor succumbed to a serious illness, and the vacant see was filled by its present occupant, the Right Rev. Hugh MacSherry.

Dr. MacSherry was consecrated by Cardinal Logue on the 2 August 1896, at Dundalk, where for some years he had been administrator. Under his regime the story of the Church in the Eastern Vicariate is one of steady progress. Twelve new missions have been opened and churches built. The number of teaching and nursing sisters has increased to 500 in twenty-five convents. The Brothers of the Christian Schools have been brought to King William's Town. At Aliwal North one of the most imposing of ecclesiastical buildings in the land, the convent of the Holy Cross, was erected at his suggestion and under his inspiration. To-day it can boast of other foundations in Cape Town, Basutoland, Transvaal, Bechuanaland, and South-West Protectorate.

The number of the missions established and of churches built is not the full measure of the influence of Dr. MacSherry in South Africa. Port Elizabeth, to which city he transferred the seat of government of his vicariate from Grahamstown, looks upon him as one of its most distinguished citizens. He played a big part in founding South Africa's Catholic weekly, the *Southern Cross*. Commenting editorially on Bishop MacSherry' consecration and appointment as Vicar Apostolic, the *Dundalk Examiner*, of the 18 August 1896, wrote:—

"The Most Rev. Dr. MacSherry is the latest addition to the episcopal ranks, and in him are personified all those attributes which in the past ensured the glory of the Church in Ireland; and which is at once its guerdon and its hope. No more worthy priest was ever raised to the purple, and no abler ecclesiastic could ever be called on to fill a great and sacred office. Not

alone is he a pious and zealous priest devoted to his mission, but he is a born ruler of men, gifted with a fine presence, and endowed not only with administrative power of a very high order, but with a fascinating manner which cannot fail to secure for him the love and reverence of the people over whom he has been called to rule."

Bishop's MacSherry's career in South Africa has more than justified these words of praise written thirty-five years ago. To-day he carries his eighty years with a quiet and strong dignity, and performs all the duties of his pastorate with the same attention to detail as he did half a century ago. If God spares him, he intends to be present at the 1932 Eucharistic Congress in Dublin.

The story of Irish missionary enterprise in the Cape Colony would be incomplete were no mention made of some of the grand old *soggarths* whose names even now are words to conjure with amongst the old Irish people of the Cape. There was Father Joseph Griffith, brother of the first bishop, who was the first pastor of St. Michael's, Rondebosch. This was the first mission to be established (1853) by Bishop Griffith near Cape Town, when the completion of St. Mary's Cathedral made it possible to devote time and money to other work. For a time Mass was said in a small cottage which was hired for the purpose. The joy of the faithful knew no bounds when at last they saw their new church completed, but their joy was changed to sorrow when the floods of heaven came down and left scarcely a trace of it. A new church was built and dedicated by Bishop Griffith in 1858. Father Griffith was compelled by ill health to relinquish his charge of St. Michael's, and his place was taken by Father Thomas. Meagher. Father Meagher was for years both pastor and school-master. There are men highly placed in commerce and business to-day in Cape Town who were initiated into the mysteries of the three " R's " by Father Meagher. Though he was a firm believer in the maxim " spare the rod and spoil the child," he is spoken of always with love and respect by those who remember him. Then

there was Monsignor McMahon, who in 1860 built the first church in Oudtshoorn, three hundred miles from Cape Town (now the centre of a separate Prefecture Apostolic), another church at Mossel Bay, and still another at Wynberg (nine miles from Cape Town), where he secured the splendid Springfield estate for the Dominican Sisters in 1871. And Father O'Hare, who spent twelve very full and fruitful years in and around Cape Town, and who is the author of *Twelve Years in South Africa*. He was remarkable for his zeal and eloquence. Many stories are told of him to show that, though called upon at a moment's notice to speak in public, he could produce a well-reasoned and polished discourse. He established a mission in Malmesbury—a town forty miles from Cape Town and a hot-bed of bigotry. So bitter was the feeling against Catholics that Father O'Hare was forbidden to show himself in the public park. The prohibition was ignored; for Father O'Hare's Christianity was as muscular as it was orthodox. In the Eastern Vicariate of the Cape the memory of Monsignor Fagan will live for many a day. The Catholic community of King William's Town owe their beautiful church and convent to him The mission was first established there in 1851. Like Grahamstown, it was a garrison town in the days of the Kaffir wars. When Father Fagan first took charge of King William's Town, the only church property were a very small cottage and a chapel, wholly inadequate to the needs of his flock. The old cottage and chapel have disappeared, and on their site stand a school for boys, a hall, a convent, one of the most beautiful churches in South Africa, and a well-built presbytery. Monsignor Fagan died a few years ago, mourned by the Catholics of the Cape Colony.

Now we come to Kimberley—known all over the world for its famous diamond mines. Kimberley itself is in the Cape Colony, but the vicariate of that name includes a portion of the Orange Free State, Griqualand West, and

Bechuanaland. The vicariate as established in 1886 included also Basutoland, but this was subsequently established as a separate vicariate. There are few cities in the world with a history so romantic as that of Kimberley. In what was practically a desert, a city sprang up almost in a day with the discovery of the diamond fields. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Anthony Gaughran, O.M.I. The quest of wealth brought people from near and far to Kimberley, and among them, of course, were many Irish. The iron structure which did service as a chapel soon gave way to a handsome church. St. Mary's Cathedral was dedicated in 1880. Dr. Jolivet, Vicar Apostolic of Natal, was on his way to Kimberley for the ceremony when he was arrested at Potchefstroom by the Boers, and made a prisoner of war; for the Transvaal Boers were on the warpath at the time, and Natal was a British colony. Bishop Gaughran suffered much during the siege of Kimberley, and died in 1901. He was succeeded by his brother, Dr. Matthew Gaughran, O.M.I., who died in 1914. The Kimberley Vicariate owes much to these two bishops. Where before there were but three or four mission stations, in 1914 there were sixteen churches and chapels, one of the most famous educational institutions in the country—the Irish Christian Brothers' college, established during the régime of the first Bishop Gaughran—several convent schools for girls, and an orphanage under the care of the Sisters of Nazareth. The good work which has been done in Kimberley has been done in spite of very exceptional difficulties. While the Western and Eastern Vicariates of the Colony were almost wholly unaffected by the Boer War, Kimberley was in the thick of it. Add to this the fact that the population was necessarily a floating one. Diamonds are not altogether an unmixed blessing: their value in money depends so much on the sudden fluctuations of the market. Kimberley has known days of great prosperity, but it has known days too of great economic

distress. But in spite of all its ups and downs the Catholics of that city have kept the flag of our ancient faith flying. They were of course mostly Irish, and proud of it. The Kimberley Vicariate has been in recent years given over to German Oblates of Mary Immaculate, but Irish traditions linger on in a strong and simple faith, generosity to the Church and loyalty to their priests.

I have said that of the four provinces which constitute the Union of South Africa only the Cape Colony was to any large extent the scene of Irish missionary enterprise. This was especially true of the old pioneer days. It does not mean that Irish priests have not done great and lasting work in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal. For a time an Irish bishop governed the destinies of the Transvaal Vicariate. He was the Right Rev. William Miller, O.M.I., a native of Mountrath.

As far back as 1864 Mass was said in a room at Potchefstroom (once the capital of the South African Republic). No one suspected then that the earth contained vast stores of hidden wealth. What the diamonds did for Kimberley gold did for Johannesburg. The Golden City is one of the wonders of the world. There are many alive to-day in South Africa who saw the old wood and iron buildings which were the beginnings of what is to-day the greatest and most important city of the Union.

Up to 1885 the Transvaal was portion of the Vicariate of Natal. For a time it was a Prefecture Apostolic. It is now a Vicariate, Dr. Miller (consecrated 1904) being the first Vicar Apostolic. The years following the Boer War were years of booms, slumps and financial crises, and before the arrival of the first Vicar Apostolic the Transvaal Vicariate found itself in serious debt. Dr. Miller laboured strenuously to meet his creditors, but with the consequence that in 1912 he became so weakened in health that he retired.

I have made no mention by name of Irish nuns in the course of this article. No human record could do justice to the work they have accomplished for souls in this

sub-Continent. But the story of Irish missionaries in South Africa would be incomplete if I were to make no mention of Mother Patrick of the Order of St. Dominic. It is no exaggerated tribute to her greatness to say that she is a national heroine and the pride of the Dominican nuns of the King William's Town branch. She was the first white woman to enter Matabeleland. Going with the invading columns, she was nurse and mother to the sick and wounded soldiers. A public monument perpetuates her memory, and every year the story of her deeds is told again when pilgrims gather around her tomb.

It must be borne in mind that the course which history took in South Africa, since the landing of Van Riebeek, made Irish immigration, or Catholic immigration of any sort, on a large scale impossible. From the beginning the land had become the property of the Dutch and French Huguenots. Subsequent immigration was too big a menace to their political and spiritual supremacy to receive any encouragement. Even to-day they look askance at it. The work of the first Irish bishops and priests consisted in travelling long distances, more often than not in the scorching sun, in an endeavour to keep alive the languishing faith of the scattered and isolated Catholics. The question has often been asked, especially by those who are new-comers and who are not acquainted with the history of the early missionaries and the conditions of the time : " Why did they not do more for the native and coloured people ? Why did they spend so much time on the saddle and in the Cape cart in quest of the few, when an abundant harvest lay within reach ? " This was the very question they had to decide, and they sought and found advice at the fount of Catholic wisdom—the Holy See. " Attend first to the wants of the children of the household of the faith," wrote Pius IX, " and when the wants of this portion of the flock are provided for, turn your attention to the native population."

JOHN COLGAN

THE ECONOMIC EVIL OF LOAN INTEREST

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

THE last hundred years has seen many striking revivals and vindications of medieval doctrines and policies that the modern world, thinking itself more enlightened, had rejected. I venture, with considerable confidence, to say that the march of contemporary events and of economic thought is leading to what will surely be the most astonishing and important of all political resurrections, that of the medieval attitude to loan interest. To say usury, and not loan interest, would not be saying enough. The use of the two words in modern times leads the thoughtless to conclude that it is easy to distinguish between the two things. I am not a theologian; but I have read enough to be able to say that every theological student is aware that the distinction between the unlawful thing, usury, and interest presumed lawful is not always easy either in theory or practice. As a lay student of social economics, and therefore to some extent of ethics, my mind has long been exercised by what is surely an extraordinarily impressive fact, that the Catholic Church has reserved her sanction of the modern system of interest, though that system is one of the main foundations of all modern economic life and activity, and Catholics—one may say the Church itself as a human organization—are inevitably involved with that system. To guard myself from inaccuracy in trying to state the Catholic position I avail myself of the exposition of Dr. John A. Ryan, the eminent American Catholic authority, who says that while the Responses given by the Roman Congregations from 1822 onwards to questions relating to the lawfulness of loan interest express a genuine permission, not a mere toleration of interest: "None of them contains a positive and reasoned approval of the practice. Most of them merely decide that persons who engage in it are not to

be disturbed in conscience, so long as they stand ready to submit to a formal decision on the subject by the Holy See. *The insertion of the latter condition clearly intimates that some day interest-taking might be formally and officially condemned,*"[1]

The italics are mine. It is not my purpose to discuss the morality of interest-taking, but to show the economic and social evils arising from the system of loan interest—not the evils arising from abuses and excesses, but from the very nature of interest itself. We may begin our demonstration with the assertion, which nobody will dispute, that the world generally is finding interest payments peculiarly burdensome. Great Britain is paying interest on her National Debt to the extent of £303 millions. In addition there are all the interest charges on debts of local authorities and on industrial debentures. Evidence was given to the Macmillan Committee that where in 1911 industry alone had to find £16 millions per annum for internal interest on the National Debt, it has now to earn and hand over to the State £277 millions, while other fixed charges on industry have increased in like proportion.[2] It was the enormous fixed charge for interest that during the recent "crisis," and indeed for years before, did most to make British Labour unwilling to submit to reduced wages and unemployment benefits. The majority of the Labour Cabinet who were so unyieldingly opposed to a 10 per cent. direct cut in the dole, while favourable to a tariff and inflation which would probably have made a much heavier though indirect cut, were not as inconsistent as they might appear. They could reconcile themselves to measures which raised prices, for in that way the value of interest payments would be reduced. Labour was not unnaturally hostile to a policy of cutting earned incomes and social services while actually increasing the purchasing power of the

[1] Ryan, *Distributive Justice*, pp. 173–4.

[2] *Report of Committee on Finance and Industry*, p. 239. Cmd. 3897.

rentier. The Minority Report[1] of the Committee on National Expenditure declares that the "real" cost of the internal debt interest has risen 73 per cent. since 1920-21 owing to changes in the price level. Without making ourselves responsible for the validity of Labour arguments or statistics, we must acknowledge that the receivers of fixed incomes do get an advantage from the fall in the price level due to the cutting of wages and salaries.

The peculiarity of the burden of interest which makes it so obnoxious is not its mere weight but its fixity. Other costs, wages and salaries are capable of adjustment, prices may be lowered, and profits rise and fall according to conditions. Rent, when it is true rent and not interest, is a charge related to productivity, and apart from this there is by custom more relaxation of demands for rent than for interest during hard times. The amount of interest payable is fixed by contract, usually covering a long period, and it does not depend on the productivity of the loan-capital to the borrower. As we shall have occasion to emphasize, it is the fixity of interest, its independence of productivity, that makes it a cause of mischief. Let not the reader think that the main complaint is one of equity, because interest-receivers benefit unduly from falling prices. This might possibly be rebutted by the plea that fixed incomes suffer from rising prices, of which we have had sufficient experience in our generation and may soon have more. The evil I allege against interest is economic, not ethical; I do not say that it is inequitable, but that it is a cause of disequilibrium. However, I shall point out that modern economic experience and analysis provides a remarkable justification to the ancient Canonist view of interest and usury.

We are still in a world economic crisis that has continued since 1929 and has steadily worsened. The crisis consists in the failure of demand for goods to maintain

[1] Cmd. 3920, p. 238.

itself at prices that cover the costs of production. Hence unemployment, over-production, business losses, bankruptcies. The cause of the failure of demand is a problem economists have not solved. The two main theories are those of the Monetary School and the Equilibrium School. The first believes that the supply of the means of payment, the creation of credit, failed to keep pace with the growing needs of trade. Prices, therefore, began to fall, and one fall led to further falls. The rival theory denies there was any shortage of credit, but says that prices were for a time maintained artificially high by tariffs, monopolies, cartels, trade unions, etc., at a time when production, owing to the advance of applied scientific knowledge and improved organization, was increasing. Lower prices were needed to pass on the benefits of increased production to the consumers to enable demand to keep pace with supply. After a time the primary producing countries found it impossible to dispose of their products and maintain prices. The manufacturing countries, however, were able to maintain prices for manufactured products because the output of factories can be more quickly and more easily restricted than that of farms, plantations or mines. Hence the agriculturists got less manufactured goods in exchange for their produce. Unemployment increased in the manufacturing countries because of the decreased purchasing power of the agriculturalists. Unemployment also lessened the demand of the manufacturing populations for agritural products, so that the vicious circle was complete. There was disequilibrium between agricultural prices and industrial prices, preventing the farms from buying from the factories. If the factory prices fell in proportion to the fall in farm prices, equilibrium would be restored—assuming also that there was confidence that prices really had touched bottom.

We may also view the disequilibrium from another angle—as between costs and prices, between outlay and returns. If the farmers' costs in rent, wages, seed, stock,

implements, living, interest and everything else kept pace with movements in the price of wheat and other produce, a fall in price would cause him no loss of profit or purchasing power. However, we know that costs do not move harmoniously with prices. Some costs are more or less flexible, others are rigid; if there were no rigidity, there would be no disequilibrium.

The rival theories of the Monetary and the Equilibrium Schools are not mutually exclusive. The Monetary School admits the need of restoring equilibrium between costs and prices. This school would inflate credit and currency —provided that the leading countries co-operated in inflation—and thus raise prices without raising costs to the same degree. Interest is a cost that would be reduced really though not nominally by monetary inflation. As the interest-paying countries are generally the primary producers and the interest-receivers are the manufacturing countries, inflation would also increase the purchasing power of the farmers.

Rigidity of costs is thus seen to lie at the root of disequilibrium and of the whole world trade crisis; interest, from its nature, is the most rigid of all costs, and as we have seen in Britain, it induces rigidity in labour costs. However, it is not the experience of Britain that provides the case against interest, but that of the debtor nations. All the nations of the world, except nine, according to the Macmillan Report, are debtor nations. There are seven creditor nations, Great Britain, the United States, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Sweden, and two nations, Spain and Russia, which are not included in either class. The debtors can only pay by selling their goods at remunerative prices. From 1929 the prices began to fall steeply. To meet their obligations the debtors exported more goods. This did not help them: it only turned prices more against them. The debtors sent out their gold as well as goods in an honest and desperate effort to pay. The debtor countries, which had 35 per

cent. of the gold in the world's central banks and treasuries in January, 1929, had only 25 per cent. two years later. The Macmillan Committee calculate that if they parted with the last ounce of their gold, they could not keep their heads above water for much more than another twelve months. The remedy of old-fashioned orthodox economies was for the debtors to increase their exports and decrease their imports. This is what was actually tried; the result was that the increased exports forced prices down further, while the diminished imports caused unemployment in other countries. The Macmillan Report urged very forcibly that all the debtors must be driven to default if they were not helped :—

> The fall in the prices of raw products is facing the debtor nations of the world, which are dependent on the sale of such products, with tasks of exceeding difficulty. Superficially the creditor countries may appear to obtain a corresponding advantage. But this may prove delusive. International credit is a fragile plant. The effect of the pressure of the present price level on the credit of debtor countries may, if it is long continued, prove so serious that their ability to contract new loans will be dangerously impaired. The vicious circle will then be complete. Creditor countries will find that the security of the loans which they have already made is evaporating. And the whole system of international loans, on which the trade and prosperity of the world and the developemnt of its natural resources so largely depend, will be seriously affected.
>
> Thus a failure by the Central Banks of the world to attempt to redress the fall of prices, in our judgement, would endanger the principles on which modern economic society is founded, namely, the dependence of the productive process on the expectation of normal profit to individual concerns, and the sanctity of contract. For to allow prices to fall, whilst social forces maintain wage-costs, obliterates profit; and the attempt to reduce non-contractual incomes, without the power to abate contractual incomes immediately, jeopardises, both nationally and internationally, the sanctity of contract.[1]

The Macmillan Committee is concerned above all to save "the whole system of international loans." To that

[1] P. 116.

end it would water the currency. The whole constructive programme of the Macmillan Committee is summed up in the one word "Inflation"—always on the condition that the United States and France agree to inflate with Britain. Nothing could be more portentous than the spectacle of the great British bankers who sat on the Macmillan Committee, the bankers of the greatest creditor nation in the world, recommending inflation. It had become quite evident that the economic strain on the debtor countries had become unbearable; they would either have to default on their debts or be relieved by a monetary policy causing the prices of their exports to rise. Actually the Macmillan Report has already been put out of date by events. Even before Britain had gone off the gold standard, debtor countries with the most excellent records had gone into default—Brazil, Chile and Peru. Australia only avoided open default by the grace of her creditors in London. India's credit has had to be buttressed by a special pledge on the part of the British Government. No point need be made about old offenders like Turkey, Mexico and Ecuador. Neither shall we use as evidence the failures that might be attributed to political factors, in Russia, China and Germany. However, the fact remains that there are now exceedingly few countries in the world that have not defaulted on their international debts or else devalued their currencies at the expense of foreign as well as domestic creditors. The fears of the Macmillan Committee have been more than realized: "The whole system of international loans" has not only been seriously affected, it is more than half in ruins.

This description of the present state of affairs must be admitted; but it might be said that the blame rests on the instability of money and not on loan interest. I have no wish to minimize the importance of the monetary factor; but it has been shown above that the instability of money causes the mischief because of the rigidity of costs, which is mainly due to the rigidity of interest.

Moreover, as we shall now see, there is ground in theory for saying that interest, by promoting sterile saving of money, is itself a cause of instability of general prices, which is equivalent to instability of money.

The argument from facts given above is most impressively reinforced on grounds of theory set forth in the recent work of Mr. J. M. Keynes, *A Treatise on Money*. No work for many generations has caused such a stir among professional economists. Mr. Keynes tackles the problem of trade cycles, the periodical rises and falls of prices—and therefore of productive activity, which has never hitherto received any accepted explanation. It is premature to say Mr. Keynes's views are accepted : the best economists on both sides of the Atlantic confess that they have hardly been able as yet to assimilate the wealth of original thought in *A Treatise on Money*. The cardinal point made by Mr. Keynes is the distinction between Saving and Investment, between the saving of money and its conversion into capital goods. The saving of money is, by itself, no service to production or economy. It only causes goods and services already available to be unused, or to be disposed of at lower prices. Saving without investment must often lessen the employment of labour, and it must always lessen profits. Now profits are the incentive to enterprise, and a fall in profits tends to bring industrial depression. Except when there is monetary inflation the saving of money, without its conversion into capital goods, is a bad thing for the social economy ; for it means that the demand for goods falls below the supply. The receipt of money is the receipt of purchasing power, which must be exercised as it is received unless products are to perish unused or be sold at a sacrifice.

In so far as interest encourages saving without investment, that is, without conversion into capital goods, it encourages waste, unemployment and business losses. If it be questioned whether there is any interest paid

on savings without investment, the answer is not in doubt. Huge amounts of money lie idle as bank deposits in times of bad trade, and when confidence is lacking. Interest, in such conditions, encourages socially wasteful saving and discourages socially desirable investment. One of the most important practical applications which Mr. Keynes makes of his theory is that interest on bank deposits should be lowered, even abolished, when trade is depressed.

Economists regard interest as the " reward of waiting " and profit as the reward of enterprise. Yet it has been generally assumed among both economists and other people that profit and interest are friendly associates, that interest indeed is a form of profit. This assumption is wrong; Interest is the enemy of Profit. A rise in interest causes, by itself, a fall in profit. A rise in interest means the same as a rise in the price of capital-goods, and therefore a diminution of anticipated profit. Suppose a business man thinks that a certain machine would yield him £60 a year above working costs. If the price of the machine were £800 and the rate of interest 5 per cent., his anticipated net profit would be £20. If the rate of interest were 4 per cent., the machine could be £1,000 in price and would still be equally well worth his while to buy. This shows that higher interest is equivalent to higher costs of capital goods and detrimental to profits and enterprise.

From the distinction between Saving and Investment and the opposition between Interest and Profit it is easy to see the necessity of distinguishing between Money and Capital. It is a grave error to treat money as equivalent to capital. The saving of money does not by itself bring any capital goods into existence. When there is a loan at interest and savings are converted into capital goods, it is the borrower and not the lender who brings the capital goods into existence. In other words, the lender is not the investor.

The two principal points we have endeavoured to make clear in this article are : (1) there is a distinction of the greatest importance between lending money and investing capital ; (2) the exacting of interest on loans, irrespective of capital having produced profit, leads to an accumulation of evils culminating in economic and financial breakdown, as we see in the world at this moment. To put it more concretely, if the foreign capital of debtor countries like Australia and Brazil had been in the form of what business men call Ordinary stock and shares, yielding dividends only as produced by the capital, there would not have been the embarassments and evils from these countries having to meet fixed interest on bonds.

Now we come to the medieval attitude to interest. There is no doubt that up to the sixteenth century the Canonists prohibited as usury much of what we nowadays allow as interest. Yet the Canonists did not prohibit profit. A man who lent his money to a trader was entitled to stipulate for a share in the profits of the trader's undertaking. But it was wrong to stipulate for the return of the money plus interest irrespective of the trader making a profit. The lender had to be a partner in the enterprise, not merely a creditor, if he was to claim a share in the gains. As Professor Ashley puts it in Book II of his *Economic History* : " Until the beginning of the 16th century it was the constant teaching of the Canonists that *to bargain for a fixed reward, or dividend, upon the capital invested, whatever the fortunes of the business might be,* made the contract usurious." In other words, the Canonists tried to ensure that saving was only remunerative when the saver invested in capital goods, and that the charges on the user of capital should be contingent on, and in some measure proportionate to, the value produced with the capital. It is the violation of the Canonists' principle that caused the mere fact of a fall in prices from about 1929 to set in motion a train of evils which has brought the world to its present economic plight.

H. Somerville.

LEON BLOY

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

WHEN Léon Bloy died, old and poverty-stricken, in the midst of the great war, the few who mourned over the event must have felt that a writer who barely achieved public recognition during life, could scarcely fail to slip into oblivion after death. His friends were very few, his detractors many, and with his fierce Catholicism and his intolerant scorn of all modern schools of thought he would seem to make but small appeal to the post-war world. While his fellow-Catholics conscientiously consigned him to obscurity, was it likely that freethinkers and Protestants against whom he thundered in his life-time would cherish his memory ? None the less a reaction has already set in. As the personal rancours excited by literary controversies have died down, and writers of a past generation can be seen in a truer perspective, the genius of Léon Bloy begins to tower above his contemporaries, and already a wider recognition is being accorded him than he enjoyed in his tragic life-time. The two volumes recently published and mentioned below[1] are proof of this newly-awakened interest.

M. Termier sums up his very helpful and sympathetic appreciation of Bloy by quoting a phrase concerning him by Henry de Groux, the Belgian painter and one of Bloy's staunchest disciples. " Bloy," he wrote, " has only one line and that line is the Absolute. The Absolute in thought, in word, in deed, an Absolute so complete that everything in him was of a perfect sameness." These words supply the key to his character. For Bloy no compromise of

[1] *Introduction à Léon Bloy.* Par Pierre Termier, Membre de l'Institut. (Desclée De Brouwer. 1931. 12 frs.)

L'Ame de Léon Bloy. Par Hubert Colleye. (Desclée De Brouwer. 1931. 18 frs.)

any sort was possible, whether in doctrine or in life. He himself boasts of his "perfect intolerance," and asserts his "irreproachable integrity," and he demanded the same standard of utter truthfuless, honesty and fidelity to Christian teaching from his friends and correspondents as he imposed upon himself. With his friends, in their moments of weakness, he was ready to plead in eloquent, passionate letters, revealing depths of tenderness hidden beneath his rugged exterior, but for the world in general and for the ignobler of his detractors he knew no mercy, and from the lash of his scathing irony few of his contemporaries escaped. How could such a man make a successful journalist? How curry favour with the multitude in order that his books might be the "best sellers" of a brief season?

A further and far more trivial reason for unpopularity was Bloy's inveterate habit of writing begging letters to his friends and admirers, a habit which won for him the title of "le mendiant ingrat," flung at him as a term of opprobium, but accepted and adopted by him as a title of honour. What could he do but beg, he would ask? During the major portion of his life he suffered from real and often from acute poverty. His books did not pay—"I write books," he declared, "which will live, but which do not afford me a livelihood"—his journalism was of the irregular and often unremunerative sort, and he was totally incapable of earning a living by any other method than by his pen. He had genius: he had no useful talents, and like most writers of genius he had a sound belief in the value of his own work. Thus when quarter-day came round and there was no rent available, or when he and his devoted wife found themselves reduced literally to a single meal a day, Bloy would write to all and sundry his celebrated begging letters, triumphs of ingenious pleading for help, of which he never dreamt of being ashamed. It was inconceivable to him that men of wealth who had publicly expressed admiration for his

writing would not gladly send him a gift of money when they learned of his need. And it was equally inconceivable that men who enjoyed his personal friendship would not willingly share with him all they had as he himself was ready to share with them when fortune—how rarely!—favoured him. He begged, as the early Franciscans begged, with a single conviction of the righteousness of his cause and a wholehearted trust in the beneficence of God, and he was so far justified that almost miraculous help was vouchsafed to him at times from the most unlikely quarters. On the other hand, many people were annoyed at being expected to translate their verbal expressions of admiration into monetary offerings. Moreover Bloy, to his honour, could never be bought by a dole, and the calculating author who hoped by a timely alms to soften the asperities of the ferocious critic was doomed to disappointment. Thus Bloy raised up for himself a host of mean-spirited detractors in the literary and artistic world of Paris, and they too often repaid him on the appearance of a new volume by a conspiracy of silence that was deadly in its operation.

To-day we can put aside all these pettinesses and personalities and judge of this great writer and great Christian in his essential characteristics. Hitherto he has been known too exclusively as the author of a single book, *Le Désespéré*, a book indeed of tragic power, but giving a distorted impression of his genius and in which his mood of bitterness and exasperation almost reaches delirium. The story, as is well known, is autobiographical in all its main incidents and belongs to years (1884-6) when Bloy's fortunes were at their lowest ebb, when he had not yet met the wife who was to do so much to soften the sufferings of later years, and when he resolved to hit back savagely at the world that had heaped so much misery upon him. Other books must be read, if his genius is to be rightly appreciated. In reality Bloy was a voluminous writer, producing volume after volume in the face of incredible

publishing difficulties, and if a selection of these is to be made it should include some or all of the seven volumes of his Journal, beginning with *Le Mendiant Ingrat* (1892) and covering the next twenty-four years of his life, and in addition that most exquisite and heart-rending idyll, *La Femme Pauvre*. All his books are intensely subjective, drawn out of himself with pain and travail, but it is pre-eminently in his Journal that he reveals his thoughts and his personality with an overflowing candour.

The first thing we learn from them is the truly passionate intensity of his faith, a faith inspired perhaps more by emotion than by reason, and which was to him at once a rule of life and a fount from which he drew his superabundant inspiration. In this respect, as indeed in several others, he may be compared with his English contemporary, Francis Thompson. It was Barbey d'Aurevilly, when Bloy, an unknown youth of twenty-five, was first struggling for a livelihood in the streets of Paris, who opened his eyes to the Catholic faith, but Bloy quickly surpassed his master in his apprehension of the divine mysteries. He had realised the Absolute, and henceforth there was no faltering in his allegiance, not even during the violent emotional crisis that supplied the motive of *Le Désespéré*. M. Colleye, thanks to the collaboration of Madame Bloy, has been able to reveal some interesting details as well as many hitherto unpublished letters which throw light on these early years. When *Le Mendiant Ingrat*, the first instalment of the Journal, opens, Bloy is a married man of forty-six, in the full development of his intellectual powers. One gathers that his faith gave him spiritual sustenance and peace rather than happiness, and it was in keeping with his violent and gloomy nature to feel more at home with the Church in her penitential than in her joyful festivals. Thus he writes :—

> It is solely from His tears that I have drawn the almost superhuman strength that I have needed to suffer as I have done, to accept the most terrible existence and never to cease standing

erect at the foot of the Cross in darkness, in dereliction and in torture (p. 56). . . . I am incapable of feeling the joy of the Resurrection, because, for me, the Resurrection never happens. I always see Jesus in agony, Jesus on the Cross, and I cannot see Him in any other way (p. 355).

All his Catholic life he was a daily communicant—"c'est à la communion quotidienne que je dois tout," he writes to a friend; and he was a diligent student of the liturgy and of Holy Scripture.

I cannot open the sacred book without being wrapt in indescribable fragrance, a marvellous sweetness, an intoxication that lifts me to the stars (p. 140). . . . The Gospels! What a delight for me is the reading of them even in the midst of the most poignant anguish. How often have I not felt and said that the hardest part of my penance is not to be able to devote the whole of my days to their study. God knows what He does, and He alone knows (p. 323).

Little wonder that the Journal is filled with groanings over his "infamante" collaboration with the "odious Gil Blas," to which dire poverty drove him for a time. "The lack of money," he writes, "is my form of captivity." Even more poignant is the following: "I feel myself captive in some filthy prison with horn windows through which I can only dimly perceive the luminous figures of the divine world which is my true home." (p. 34).

It is for visions such as these that we forgive him his bitter gibes at the "inconceivab.e mediocrity" of the clergy, at the "confiture sacerdotale" of St. Sulpice, or his description of the pious women-folk of any parish as "les poulardes édifiantes qu'on voit ordinairement picorer dans les sacristies."

Owing to the fact that Bloy's courageous wife was of Danish birth, the daughter of a distinguished poet, Christian Molbech, the little family, in a state of acute destitution, migrated for a time to Denmark, hoping apparently to find life there less harassing. These seventeen months' banishment to a heretical land, where religious deprivations were superadded to material trials, supply the

matter for a later volume of the Journal. In Denmark once more the " diabolic obstinacy " of Bloy's ill fortune pursued him amid the " sentimental imbecilities " of a Protestant population. His indignation against this apostate race of the North knows literally no bounds, and he senses the deadly effects of heresy in every revolting detail of daily life—even to the offensive " latrines luthériennes " and the way in which the butcher cut up his joints. One solitary ray of light fell upon him during this unhappy period in a visit from Johannes Joergensen, whose startling conversion to Catholicism a few years earlier made him the most welcome of visitors The two men, both great artists and great Christians, opened their hearts to one another, and Bloy's generous and enthusiastic references to his Danish friend should dispel the impression, so widely diffused, that Bloy was incapable of appreciating his literary contemporaries.

The truth is that his bitter gibes against the popular writers of his day, against Zola, an author repugnant to his whole nature; against Huysmans, whose artistic religious attitude always seemed to him insincere; above all, against the " sémillant eunuque," Paul Bourget, whose blatant successes filled him with loathing, and against a host of lesser men, many of whom he was wont to refer to individually as " un parfait drôle," have overshadowed the affectionate eulogies he poured out on his personal friends, such as Barbey d'Aurevilly, Henry de Groux, Camille Lemonnier and others. In spite of his poverty and his intransigence—in one instance he forbade his house to a friend who had declined to make the sign of the cross at grace before meals—he was never without his little group of devoted disciples and admirers, the recipients of his brilliant, self-revealing letters, and M. Termier, writing with obvious affection, describes him as " the most loving and gentle and indulgent of friends." He could only love and praise where he discerned a spirit kindred to his own. Thus to Verlaine he invariably

referred with deep admiration, writing of him as "the *only* great poet who has frankly consecrated his heart to the Church in the last half-dozen centuries." And for a long period in his younger years he was in close spiritual intimacy with one of the rarest spirits of his time, Ernest Hello, "that unhappy being of genius and of suffering, who sometimes did me the honour of consulting me." Alike in the depth of their religious faith and in their utter unworldliness, the two men, in spite of the violence of the one and the scholarly gentleness of the other, had much in common. In *L'Ame de Léon Bloy*, M. Colleye prints a number of letters in which the younger man pours out the agony of his soul to his more mature friend during the emotional spiritual experiences that Bloy passed through when under the influence of his visits to La Salette, and also of the delirious visions of Anne-Marie Roulet—the Véronique of *Le Désespéré*—who shortly after became completely insane. It was indeed only when this terrible mental crisis had worked itself out, a crisis rendered lamentably more acute by semi-starvation over a prolonged period, and Bloy had rid himself of it by enshrining it in his novel, that he himself returned to complete sanity.

It was a few years later that he wrote *La Femme Pauvre*. To all lovers of Bloy this is his greatest book. Maritain and Termier both pronounce it to be his *chef-d'œuvre*, and Bloy himself speaks of it as the work of his ripe maturity. The subject, in essentials, is much the same as *Le Désespéré*, but it is transfigured by a wider vision, and the agonised experiences of earlier years, crowded pell-mell into the previous book, have here been mellowed by time and woven into an artistic whole. Marchenoir, the auto-biographical hero of *Le Désespéré*, reappears as a subsidiary character, but Leopold, from a different angle, is again Bloy himself. The chief beauty of the book lies, however, in the delineation of Clotilde, *la femme pauvre*, a figure of infinite pathos. She is Véronique, with all the extravagance and madness cleared

away, and she stands revealed as an exquisite presentment of a beautiful woman, saved, almost miraculously, from a life of infamy, and rising, step by step, to heights of Franciscan poverty and pure love. The book is instinct with profound Christian feeling, but over and above that it bears witness to the very special study that Bloy had made of sanctity as revealed in the female saints. Scattered through his various writings are frequent references to the revelations of St. Brigid and of Anne Catherine Emmerich—favourite readings of his—to SS. Philomena and Perpetua, to Blessed Angela of Foligno and, needless to say, to St. Joan of Arc, "the marvellous passion-flower of the Middle Ages." And it was in the light of this acquired understanding of mystical knowledge as interpreted by the feminine mind, so rarely studied by men, that he created *la femme pauvre*. It is a theme after his own heart, pursued from first to last with the technique of a great novelist. Moreover, the book enshrines in its digressions much of Bloy's philosophy of life, many of his most profound and caustic sayings, and his most brilliant dialogue. There is a delightful and humorous portrait of the artist, rejoicing in the name of Pélopidas Gacougnol, who, from pure goodness of heart, wrenches Clotilde away from her abject parents and promotes her marriage to Leopold, who also has had a tragic past. And there is an unforgettable opening picture of Clotilde's home life with a mother and stepfather sunk in poverty and vice in the fetid atmosphere of the most squalid Paris *banlieue*, which Bloy, who knew such localities, alas, from personal experience, presents in his vigorous prose, sparing us nothing—but, unlike Zola, inspiring us not so much with horror as with an infinite pity for fallen human nature. Throughout the book there is indeed a tragic intensity of sadness; for Bloy himself, in his vision of life, was only saved from despair by his profound faith that nothing could overwhelm. Marchenoir, Véronique, Clotilde, Leopold are

all, like himself, daily communicants, they all live in closest contact with the supernatural, nor could he envisage the triumph of the soul over the desolating miseries of this life without the constant spiritual sustenance of the sacraments.

Left a widow, in a terrible fashion, after a brief spell of happiness, Clotilde devotes herself to prayer and poverty, jeered at by "comfortable Christians," but loved by the humble poor among whom she elects to live.

"Vous devez être bien malheureuse, ma pauvre femme," lui disait un prêtre qui l'avait vue toute en larmes devant le Saint Sacrement exposé, et qui par chance était un vrai prêtre.

"Je suis parfaitement heureuse," répondit-elle. "On n'entre pas dans le Paradis demain, ni après-demain, ni dans dix ans, on y entre *aujourd'hui*, quand on est pauvre et crucifié."

"*Hodie* mecum eris in paradiso," murmura le prêtre, qui s'en alla bouleversé d'amour."

And the book closes on a last saying of Clotilde's: "Il n'y a qu'une tristesse, c'est de n'être pas des SAINTS."

The outbreak of war found Bloy an old man, and his normal sense of loneliness in life was intensified and found expression in his last volume, *Méditations d'un Solitaire*, brief essays in which he records his sorrows and emotions and also, alas, his "limitless absolute hatred" for the enemy who was desecrating the soil of France. One day, to distract his thoughts, he re-reads the "Fioretti," more especially the wonderful chapter on Holy Joy, and he gives us some rapturous pages inspired by this "direct vision of the White Gate of Paradise." He died in 1917, at one of the blackest moments of the war, tended by his wife and the two daughters, for whom he had so tender an affection. It is said, so M. Termier records, that asked on his death-bed the conventional question as to whether he felt no fear, he gave the wholly unconventional reply: "No fear, but an immense curiosity." It is an interesting detail that he died in the self-same little *pavillon* at Bourg-la-Reine from which Péguy went to his death on the plains of the Marne, for Péguy perhaps is the one

contemporary between whom and Bloy it would be possible to draw comparisons.

To an amazing extent French Catholic writers have ignored Léon Bloy when estimating the religious forces of his day. In the numerous books written concerning the "renouveau catholique," such as Fonsegrive's *Evolution des Idées dans la France Contemporaine*, he is not even mentioned. When it is remembered that Barbey d'Aurevilly converted Bloy, that Bloy converted Maritain, and that Maritain converted Claudel, such silence becomes almost inexplicable. One can but conclude that it is an unworthy reprisal for the bitter and indeed often cruel and unjust things that this much-tried author allowed himself to fling at French Catholic society. Yet surely Catholics should have been able to perceive the true and deep spiritual life that lay behind those violent caustic outbursts.

Happily to-day we have the testimony of two contemporary writers concerning the spiritual debt they owe to Bloy. M. Termier, his recent biographer and, it will be remembered, himself a distinguished geologist, writes, in a striking passage :—

> As for myself, I divide my life into portions, sharply and deeply differentiated : the years preceding and the years following my acquaintance with Bloy. This declaration, which I have pleasure in making, has been made to me by several other persons, each speaking for himself; their meeting with Bloy and their familiarity with his writings had effected a fundamental change in them, just as I myself had been changed (p. 121).

Jacques Maritain's testimony is no less emphatic. After conceding that Bloy's influence had not been definitely intellectual, he adds : "His influence was the far higher one, and one which places me eternally in his debt, of having been the instrument chosen by God to open for me the doors of the supernatural life." And in the same interview he adds that Bloy was "a poet marvellously gifted with imagination, sensitiveness and

intuitive perception, who had been endowed by God with an admirable strength and simplicity of faith."[1]

M. Colleye, in his *Ame de Léon Bloy*, identifies himself so completely with everything that Bloy ever said or wrote that his work has no critical value, and is of interest mainly for the hitherto unpublished letters confided to him by Madame Bloy. The present volume brings us only to the publication of *Le Désespéré*, from which one may conclude that there are more volumes to follow. M. Termier, on the other hand, has provided exactly the book that was needed for new readers as an introduction to this admittedly difficult author, who must be approached with some measure of patience and reverence. A photograph, taken in later years and reproduced as frontispiece, reveals Bloy to us as a sturdy peasant figure with a shock of white hair and the keen searching eyes of a seer. M. Termier sees in him a man of prayer, at once mystic and poet, belonging by right to the Middle Ages—hence in a real sense a " pilgrim of the Holy Sepulchre." He has no hesitation in proclaiming him " the great Catholic writer of his day, one of the greatest of all times " . . . " a giant of thought, a master of form, and one of the kings of French prose." Bloy was indeed all this, yet perhaps he was greatest of all as an extraordinarily humble Christian with a never-failing sense of the omnipresence of God. " Idolatry," he says somewhere, " consists in preferring the visible to the Invisible." And again : " It is something to perceive the shadow of the hand of God."

In conclusion a passage from *La Femme Pauvre* must be quoted as an example of the richness and sonority of Bloy's prose, a passage which would lose half its beauty in translation. It occurs in a brilliant discourse by Marchenoir on the great part played by Constantinople throughout the Middle Ages :—

Le Moyen Age sans Constantinople parut aussitôt comme un arbre immense dont on aurait tranché les racines. Pensez que

[1] See *Une Heure Avec*, by L. Lefévre. Vol. I, p. 45.

c'était le Reliquaire du monde, l'œcuménique Châsse d'or, et que les ossements dispersés de ces vieux Martyrs, où l'Esprit-Saint s'était reposé parmi tant d'ingrates générations, ont pu couvrir toutes les villes de l'Occident d'une lumineuse poussière !

Elle avait beau être schismatique et très perfide, polluée d'ignominies, ruisselante d'yeux crevés et de sang pourri, elle avait beau faire horreur aux Papes et aux Chevaliers, c'était quand même la porte de Jérusalem où les bons pécheurs avaient tous l'espoir de mourir d'amour. Une porte si belle qu'elle éblouissait les chrétiens jusq'en Bretagne, jusqu'au fond des golfes scandinaves ! Quelque chose enfin comme un soleil qui ne serait jamais couché !

Dites-vous, monsieur l'enlumineur, que les somptueuses applications d'or qui font la gloire des missels du très-vieux temps ne sont pas moins que le reflet de l'inimaginable Byzance dans le crépuscule de ces monastères de l'Irlande ou de la Gothie, autour desquels les loups affamés accompagnaient de leurs hurlements le chant des moines implorant Dieu pour les pélerins du Saint Tombeau.

Depuis le jour où l'empereur Anastase avait affublé Clovis des insignes de la dignité consulaire, il est bien certain que tout ce qui pouvait avoir en Europe quelque vibration de poésie s'était tourné vers cette Ville étrange, la *seule* au monde que le déluge barbare n'eût pas engloutie.

Rome, cela va sans dire, demeurait toujours la Mère. C'était là que résidait le Geôlier de Béatitude qui tient les Clefs en sa main, qui lie et délie. Oui, sans doute, mais ce Siège de l'incontestable Primauté, à force d'outrages, avait perdu tout son décor, tandis que l'autre, la rivale de l'Eternelle, n'avait eu qu'à étendre les mains, un peu au-dessus de ses imprenables murs, pour tirer à elle toute la magnificence du globe. Comment des peuples si jeunes auraient-ils pu se défendre contre cette prostituée qui ensorcelait les califes ou les rois persans, et dont le mirage seul a fait sortir la Reine de l'Adriatique du sein des eaux ?

L'art de l'Enluminure, je l'ai déjà dit, fut une diffusion photogénique de Byzance à travers l'âme rêveuse et mélancolique des Occidentaux. . . . Il fut, par excellence, l'Art du Moyen Age et devait nécessairement finir avec lui. Lorsque Byzance devint l'auge à cochons des Musulmans, le prestige qui l'avait fait naître s'évanouit et les rêveurs au désespoir tombèrent dans l'encre indélébile de Gutenberg ou dans l'huile épaisse des Renaissants (pp. 176-178).

VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

OUR RAILWAYS AND THE DRUMM-MICHELIN RAILCAR

BY JOHN C. CONROY, M.A.

THE Irish transport problem is now a hundred years old, as it may be said to date back to the passing of the Dublin and Kingstown Railway Act of 1831. At a very early stage in the development of the steam locomotive it was realised that, owing to the peculiar nature of rail transport, railroad construction ought to follow some carefully organized plan. Accordingly a Royal Commission was set up in 1836 to inquire into the best method of introducing railroads into Ireland. This Commission recommended that all the lines running in a southerly direction should be built by one company and that those running in a northerly direction should be built by another company. Unfortunately this excellent advice was not followed, and no attempt was made to secure unity of management. The result was that when the network of railroads was completed, twenty-eight different companies were operating 3,454 miles of line—with the resultant uneconomic multiplicity of boards of directors and administrative staffs.

An attempt was made to remedy this error in 1924 when the Railways Act was passed. This Act contemplated the amalgamation of all the railroad companies whose lines lay entirely inside the Irish Free State, and it also contemplated the fixing of a standard scale of rates which would enable the new company to earn a reasonable income. The framers of this Act, however, did not foresee the phenomenal development of road motor transport. This form of transport, which in 1924 was a weakly infant, has now become a strong and rapacious youth, intolerant of control, assertive of its right to crush its senior competitor, the railway.

Physical and economic conditions in Ireland are entirely unfavourable to the proper development of transport facilities unless the greatest care is taken to prevent any unnecessary duplication. Owing to its small size and deeply indented coast line there are very few places which are more than sixty miles from a port, and consequently there is no room for those long distance overland journeys which are so remunerative for rail-road transport. Secondly, since Ireland is predominantly an agricultural and pastoral country it is sparsely populated—having about one hundred and ten persons to the square mile. The population, furthermore, is distributed in the least remunerative manner possible, so far as the inland transport services are concerned. Out of a total of eleven cities and towns with a population of ten thousand persons or more, ten with a total population of 658,344 are situated on the sea or on the estuaries of navigable rivers. Industries are not numerous, and the few we have are to be found near the larger ports where all the necessary raw materials may be obtained by ocean transport. Mineral traffic, which is a very profitable source of revenue for the rail-roads and inland waterways, is very light as the mineral resources of the country are poor or undeveloped.

The total tonnage of freight traffic hauled in the Great Southern Railways in 1929 was 3,175,383 tons, while on the canals (Grand and Royal) and the Shannon the tonnage hauled was only 288,092 tons. Unfortunately the volume of freight traffic carried by commercial motor vehicles and by the Great Northern Railway within the Irish Free State cannot be estimated, but it may be said that this volume of traffic in 1929 was about 3,500,000 tons. As regards the passenger traffic in 1929, the Great Southern Railways carried 12,646,000 exclusive of season ticket holders, and the road motor services carried 12,795,695 passengers, exclusive of those carried by services operating in Dublin and its

suburbs. It is impossible to estimate the passenger traffic on the Great Northern Railway within the Irish Free State; but assuming that the Irish Free State passenger traffic on that company's lines amounted to about four million, the total passenger traffic in the Irish Free State in 1929 was about 29,442,000 passengers. Now this small volume of traffic was never sufficient to give a reasonable return on the capital invested in railway and canal construction—not even before the War when road motor transport was unknown. The executive authorities of the railway and canal companies have been struggling for years—not always with success—to meet their dividend obligations; but the development of commercial road motor transport has made their position far more difficult.

At first the railroads refused to recognise road motor transport as a serious competitor; but its rapid development and apparent success soon awakened them to a sense of the danger, and they began to make efforts to protect their falling receipts. These efforts took the form of attempting to increase their revenue by attracting traffic and by reducing expenditure. In order to attract traffic the railroads have reduced rates and fares and have instituted road motor services. Efforts have been made to recapture the lost passenger traffic by issuing tickets at reduced fares in the form of week-end tickets, fourteen day tickets, and so on. The number of "reduced fare" tickets has been steadily increasing every year, the percentage of such tickets issued increasing from 26.3 per cent in 1925 to 77.5 per cent in 1929. A move is being made at present to reduce freight rates to such a level as will enable the railroad to recapture the freight traffic which has been lost to the road carriers. Since the passing of the Railways (Road Motor Services) Act, 1927, the railroads have been operating road motor services in conjunction with their train services. These road services—embracing 207 routes and 5,790 miles—

have not been a financial success) as the Great Southern Railways lost on them £9,897 in 1929 and £33,247 in 1930.

In order to reduce maintenance and renewal expenses a policy of converting certain lines to single track has been adopted, and in the years 1925-30 one hundred and fifty-eight miles of line have been converted from double to single track. Branch lines are being closed to certain classes of traffic, and the complete abandonment of some lines is under consideration.[1] This closing of branch lines is to be deprecated, because although it may reduce operating expenses and thus give some temporary relief to the railroad company, it will not succeed in doing what is necessary to place the railroad system on a proper paying basis—it will not increase the volume of traffic. Any increase in the volume of traffic can only be expected from the further development of our mineral and agricultural resources and from the establishment of industries in the interior of the country. These events in their turn are dependent on an efficient, speedy and cheap transport service which will enable the raw materials to be collected and the products of industry to be distributed in a most economical manner. As the railroads form the backbone of the transport system, the effectiveness of the transport service will depend on the effectiveness of the railroads. So the policy of closing down branch lines and reducing track mileage—a policy both retrograde and shortsighted—should be abandoned.

Furthermore the closing of branch lines results in the loss of a certain amount of fixed capital. The capital expended in the construction of the permanent way is irrecoverable as the permanent way is useless for anything else. It has been suggested to convert the permanent way into a macadamized road, but the cost of such a conversion would be prohibitive. The ordinary branch-

[1] In a public lecture, 26 October 1931, Mr. T. Morgan Good advocated the closing of 800 miles of track and of 500 stations.

line permanent way is from ten to twelve feet wide. In order to convert it into an eighteen or twenty foot road, the embankment in many places would have to be widened, the bridges would have to be reconstructed, and the cuts and tunnels would have to be widened. Then the road surface would have to be made. As the cost of making a twenty-four foot tar-macadam road is about £3,300 a mile, it will be seen that the cost of converting one of the branch railroads into such a road could easily cost twice that sum a mile.

The railroads, therefore, should abandon their present policy of curtailing services, and should endeavour to solve their difficulties by more radical changes in their operating methods. Such changes have now become possible through two recent inventions: the Drumm electric battery and the "Micheline" pneumatic wheel.

The average cost of equipping a railroad for electric traction with overhead cable is about £2,500 a mile, and no proper return can be obtained on this capital unless the whole line is electrified. The use of the electric battery has not been very extensive because no battery in the market fulfilled the necessary conditions. It is, however, now claimed that the Drumm Battery fulfils all the conditions. The only uncertainty is as to how far it surpasses existing batteries in its certified "life," and this can only be settled by the tests which it has been undergoing for the past eighteen months. If it comes successfully out of these tests, then our railways will be able to avail themselves of electrification without having to incur the heavy initial expenditure which the installation of an overhead cable or a third rail equipment would necessitate.

The advantages of electric traction are numerous; but the most important advantage is that an appreciable reduction may be made in operating expenses. The principal items of expenditure which will be affected are fuel, water, lubrication, repair and maintenance of

locomotives, engine sheds and appliances, locomotive and shed wages, cleaning and washing expenses. The extent of the saving in fuel costs will depend on the relative prices of coal and electricity; but it is bound to be substantial, as the energy losses in the case of electric traction are trivial and as all losses necessitated by keeping fires banked and getting steam up are eliminated. The expense of obtaining water will practically cease, while the cost of lubricating materials will be reduced by sixty-five per cent. Owing to the elimination of the boiler and the reciprocating parts, the repair and maintenance of locomotives will cost less than half as much. As electric locomotives are capable of maintaining a greater average speed than steam locomotives, the number of locomotives will be reduced, and consequently fewer drivers and fewer sheds will be required. Various reductions in the wages bill will be effected. For instance, locomotive and shed wages will be reduced by nearly fifty per cent. An electric locomotive does not require the time spent in coaling, watering, raising steam, cleaning fires, and movements at turntables. There will be no need for two men to drive an electric locomotive as it requires no attention while it is running.. The provision of the "deadman" handle, which automatically cuts off power if anything should happen to the driver, would ensure the safety of the train. A great reduction can be made in the cost of cleaning the engine and coaches: there will be no boilers to wash, while the elimination of steam and smoke will give a longer life of cleanliness to the coaches. Finally, if higher speed helps to reduce the number of locomotives required, it helps to reduce at the same time the number of workers.

The overload capacity of electric generators permits increased acceleration and an increased average speed on the various classes of trains. This means that goods trains may travel faster, so that they need be

shunted less frequently to permit express trains to pass. On the London and North Eastern Railway it was found that an electric passenger train could cover in two hours and eight minutes the distance which it took a steam passenger train two hours and thirty-two minutes to cover.

There are two types of electric passenger trains—namely, the locomotive hauled train and the multiple unit train. The former is to be recommended where the traffic is heavy and where there are long runs at high speeds. The multiple unit trains are self-propelled coaches. Owing to their powers of quick acceleration in starting, these latter trains have been found to give good returns when the run is of limited length and when stops are frequent; and as these are precisely the conditions which prevail in Ireland, this type of train would seem to be peculiarly adapted for use on our railways. It is estimated that the use of electrically propelled multiple unit trains increases the average speed by from ten to twenty per cent.

The light local passenger service is the most expensive luxury that a railroad can offer to the public. The daily branch line "turn around" and the main line "short dog" have proved to be equally unremunerative, and they have been most affected by road motor transport. In the days of monopoly the railroads often adopted the attitude that if a passenger wanted to use a particular line, he should travel at a time and at a speed which suited the railroad. The truth of the maxim that facilities create traffic was forgotten. Now that the monopoly is broken, the railroads find themselves faced with the problem of providing some more economical means of handling the branch-line traffic In their search to solve this problem they have experimented with various types of railcar. This car is a self-propelled vehicle which, in addition to the power plant, contains accommodation for passengers and baggage. As a result of its self-sufficiency the dead weight to be hauled is less

than in the case of the steam train. Thus an ordinary branch-line train will consist of a locomotive weighing about twenty-five tons, a brake van weighing five tons, and a coach seating thirty-two persons which weighs six and a half tons. The new oil-driven railcars seating thirty-two passengers which are in operation on the Co. Donegal Railways weigh only seven tons. Since the weight of the vehicle is less, the cost of motive power will be less. The wages bill is also reduced, as one man can operate a railcar, whereas two men and a guard are required on a steam train.

Although the railcar has enabled the railroads to reduce their operating costs by from fifty to seventy-five per cent, it has not been accepted with any enthusiasm. It develops mechanical troubles easily, while the steel tyres do not give it good riding qualities. Accordingly there has been a definite disposition on the part of the railroad companies to investigate the rail omnibus, that is a vehicle similar to the road omnibus but so equipped as to enable it to run on rails. In Germany the Henschel rail omnibus, with an internal combustion engine of the automobile type, is in use on the State Railways. The wheels are fitted with reinforced discs to secure smoother running, and the long flexible springs have rubber shock-absorbers. This vehicle, which seats fifty-three persons, weighs 10 tons 15 cwt, can reach a maximum speed of $43\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, and does $7\frac{3}{4}$ miles on a gallon of fuel, which is a mixture of petrol and benzol. The London Midland and Scottish Railway has been experimenting with a motor omnibus which can run on rails and on the road. It has two sets of wheels—flanged for the rails and pneumatic for the roads. When it is running on the rails, the pneumatic wheels are raised up in the wings. The "Ro-Railer," as it is called, weighs seven tons and seats twenty-six passengers. The petrol consumption is sixteen miles per gallon on rails and eight miles per gallon on the

road. As compared with the ordinary railcars these rail-omnibuses have the advantages of less weight, higher acceleration, lower capital cost, and more economical operation, but they suffer from one of the great defects of railcars—viz., the vibration and noise caused by the flanged wheel on the steel rails. This vibration not only detracts from the comfort of the vehicles, but it also has a detrimental effect on the life of the power plant and of the chassis. A recent development in France seems to have got over this difficulty.

The Michelin Tyre Company have succeeded in discovering a method of running pneumatic-tyred vehicles on rails. The wheels of this vehicle consist of a central hub with a detachable flanged steel rim. The tyre rests on the flat rim against the inner flange and is kept in position by a smaller flange attached to the face of the wheel. To prevent the wheel from dropping when a tyre punctures, the deflation of the tyre has been limited to $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch by fitting a wooden ring inside the tyre. The danger of derailment is thus eliminated, while a red light on the dash-board automatically warns the driver of the puncture, which he can remedy in a few minutes by changing the wheel.

This rail-omnibus, known as the "Micheline," is fitted with a twenty horse power sleeve valve engine, seats 24 passengers, and weighs 4 tons 6 cwts when empty. On a trial run it carried eighteen passengers at a maximum speed of sixty-two miles an hour and at an average speed of $57\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, while the fuel consumption was $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the gallon. On a trial run over a distance of seventeen miles, on which there were nine stops of thirty seconds each, the "Micheline" maintained an average speed of 33 miles an hour—more than twice the average speed of an ordinary branch-line train. "Micheline" No. 5 covered the Paris-Deauville journey at an average speed of 64 miles an hour, beating the express train by 32 minutes.

The " Micheline " seems to be the most economical vehicle for light railway traffic which has been so far invented and tested. It is lighter than the railcar and much lighter than the ordinary branch train. A train seating one hundred and eight passengers would weigh one hundred and twenty tons. If this train were fully loaded, the deadweight hauled per passenger would be 2,245 pounds ; if the train were only half-filled, then the deadweight per passenger would exceed two tons ; and if the train were only one-third filled, which is a good load under present conditions, the deadweight per passenger would exceed three tons. The " Micheline," when fully loaded, weighs 6 tons 8 cwt, or about 597 pounds per passenger.

Besides the advantages of smoother and quieter running, the pneumatic tyre has adhesive qualities superior to those of the steel tyre, so that in powers of acceleration and retardation the "Micheline " is greatly superior to the ordinary train. Thus while a train seating 108 passengers has to travel about 1,640 yards to attain a speed of 50 miles per hour, the " Micheline " can attain this speed before it has covered 650 yards ; and while a train travelling at 50 m.p.h. cannot be brought to a stop in less than 1,100 yards, the " Micheline " travelling at the same speed can be brought to a standstill in 110 yards. These powers of superior acceleration and retardation enable the " Micheline," while maintaining greater average speeds, to make frequent halts to pick up or to drop passengers. It can also dispense with the present elaborate system of railroad signalling.

The adoption of railcars running on pneumatic tyres would enable the railroads to operate their branch lines on a much more economic basis. The high average speed and cheapness of operation of these vehicles would allow the railroad company to give twice as frequent a service at much less expense than would be possible with a steam train. A number of the smaller stations

could be closed and turned into "halts," and "halts" could be established at all the principal crossroads. The turning of stations into "halts" would involve the booking of tickets on the railcar; but the wages of one guard would be much less than the wages of a number of station masters. If booking on the railcar should not prove feasible, then a number of stations could be grouped under one station master, the smaller stations having a staff of only one porter.

The "Micheline" railcar is at present fitted with an ordinary train-flange. But as a railcar, owing to its lightness, does not put so great a strain on the flange as a train, it does not seem necessary that the flange should be circular and attached to the wheel. A movable flange clamped to the axle ought to fulfil the purpose of guiding the car on the rails. If this is so, then the process of converting the railcar into a road-omnibus would be simple and speedy—a matter of a few minutes. Such a mechanical device—far superior to the clumsy system of double wheels fitted to the "Ro-Railer" of the L.M.S. Railway—would have decided advantages. When the railcar had completed its course on the railway line, it could be run on to the road to serve towns distant from the railway. Or where a town is three or four miles from a railway station, the railcar could make a detour to this town and come on to the line at the next station.

The Michelin Company would seem to have made an important discovery in their railcar; but a serious accident, during a trial run between Troyes and Bar-sur-Aube on October 7, shows that they have not yet overcome all technical difficulties. No doubt they will ultimately overcome these difficulties, and then we shall hope to see our railways revitalized by a combination of the Drumm battery and the Michelin wheel—by what may come to be known as the "Drumm-Michelin Railcar."

JOHN C. CONROY

2 T 2

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XX.

TO CHRIST ON THE CROSS.

1. Dupran do martra a Meic Dé
eagal linn aidble an finné
a-tá t'fiortfuil dá dáil daoib
i gciontaib cáig do comaoin.

2. Ar ndortad a Dia puidre
d'fuil do cneir trem coraidre
dupran linn a Déimic dot
gan finn 'n-a héitic agat.

3. An dream léir doirtead t'fuilre
a coimde trem ciontuidre
fuaill id goinre dod deoin daid
a dfuilre id deoid go ndortaid.

4. Ar t'aitrir a meic maitmig
mé id martra go martairtir
beit dot áir go [n-admam] daid
go [dtogram] páir ped peannaid.

5. Go dragam ionnarba it olc
go dragam guair tred guaroct
diod gurb antrom trom do trom
trom tret antrom go dragam.

6. Go n-iodbraim a dúilim deit
m'anamra it anam oirdeic
go ndáileam an corp id corp
go dtáiream doct id doctoct.

7. Mar Muire do mhuin do bair
reacht roighe doilbhe an dóláir
le mbia mé mar Moire i mbraid
trem chroidhe a Dhé go ndeachaid.

8. Go ndearnaid im chroidhe im chorp
[lógh] chéachta Chríost 'n-a gcumhocht
imfhíomh dian do bháir do bhraid
do phian do páir do pheannaid.

9. Tred ghabáil go ngabhar mé
tred bhrat go mbraightear finne
ar ar fhaonadh a Dhé dhaid
mé go naomhar fed námhaid.

10. Thígfe a dhúilimh id dheaghaidh
go gcuirfear led caibdheanaibh
finn i [bhúrghurt] pianadh Dé
go fiaghadh [. . .] teine.

11. Am meirbh tarnocht mar tura
gur anaid aor t' iomchara
ar mbeith dhúinn deit ag croidheamh
a mheic fúinn ag fochmuideadh.

12. Sgiúirfride fgaoilte t'fhola
fiadh 'n-a linntibh lionmhara
m'fhuilfe 'n-a [bfed bhraonaigh] mhir
go [fgaolair] led 'n-a linntibh

13. D'ordaibh throma do chuirghe
mé gurb inneoin iombuailte
ar mbeith dhún tred bhuidhe i mbraid
lúdh mo chuirpe go gciorrbhaid.

14. A-roile go fighid fain
forgla gach boill dom ballaibh
maitheamh m'uilc go ndearbhthair dam
teannchair do chuirp dom chognamh.

15. Cromáin fnoigte cnáṁ mo ċinn
gurb iad a Ċríoṙd dá gcréidim
go feangа do doiṁbfeaṙg de
feanna na fboiṙdealg fbíne.

16. Taiṙngeadа a ċinn diof na mbonn
fleag an ċíg cló na ndeaṙnann
gin gur díol é it fuilre daid
mo guinre a Dé go ndeaṙnaid.

17. Go n-iomċram an ċroiċ fet air
go n-ibeam dod dig domblaiṙ
a hól fin gid daoiṙniṁ dáṁ
aṙ aoinfleid fiḃ go fabaṙ.

18. Go ndeaċam i gcroiċ fad ċeann
aṙ mbáṙ tred bár go bfuilngeam
go ndoiṙteaṙ linn m'fuilre it fuil
finn tred guinre go ngontuiṙ.

19. A huaig pian na bpeacad dtrom
eiréiṙge a Dé go ndeaṙnam
lé fagam lib a flaitgin
aṙ niṁ maṙ na naoṁaiṫriḃ.

20. Aṙ deiṙ t'Atаṙ Naoṁta aṙ niṁ
duitre aṙ fuide a ṁeic ṁaiṫmig
taṙ méid m'oicra im finné glan
ortra i [riġré] go fabaṙ.

21. Gráfa ód naoiṁrriorad aṙ niṁ
dot iarraid a ṁeic ṁaiṫmig
go bfeaṙa 'n-a fiṙtinn te
im innting ċeana im ċroide.

22. Long do deirgiobal ndilre
ag coiméad do ċreidimre
ful fgaraḋ finne a rí fuiḃ
go dtí linne do leanṁuin.

23. Ar do dhoirbir mar dhligim
truagh a Chríosd nach cuimhnigim
ná ar chú an cíg do chall trem choir
gach am do nim do neamhoil.

24. Mo thruaghra nach tuigtear liom
do fhorlamh m'anma ar Iffrionn
iomlán chú do chuirp neamhda
mar do dhoirt tú a Tigearna.

25. M'aitgin gin gur díol daidhre
i gcaill dod chrú trem chiontaibhre
glac a fhéimmic Muire mé
i n-éiric t'fuile uaimhre.

26. Do fearcra ir í a nuct Muire
n-a chaoir chritrigh tearuidhe
a rí nimhe ar nim dom chur
im chridhe lib go lardurr.

Durran.

Translation

1. Cruel Thy suffering, O Son of God; Thy virtue-rich blood is being shed in favour of the world's sins; how I fear the fires of the Witnessing!
2. Thy body's blood has been poured over Thee for my sins; I pity Thee, O Son of God, that I am not its *éiric* for Thee.
3. Those who shed, O Lord, owing to my sins, Thy blood—their shedding of their blood in return were small payment for Thy willing wounding.
4. Like unto Thee, O merciful Son, may I be martyred in Thy martyrdom, may I submit to be neath Thy will, and suffer a Passion in Thy Passion.
5. May I suffer rejection in Thy rejection and danger in Thy danger; heavy as is the crushing weight of Thy burden, may I feel the weight of that burden of Thine.
6. May I sacrifice, O Creator, for Thee my soul in Thy great soul; may I spend my body in Thy body, and suffer poverty in Thy poverty.
7. May the Seven shafts of Sorrow pierce my heart, O God, that I may be as Mary was, in misery after Thy death.
8. May keen anguish for Thy death and captivity, may (the thought of Thy) Passion, Thy pain, Thy suffering, have an equal effect (?) to Christ's wound in my heart and flesh.
9. May I be captive in Thy captivity, and betrayed in Thy betrayal; when cast down before Thee may I be sanctified so as to be able to face Thy foe.
10. At Thy word and in imitation of Thee may I be placed by Thy serving-bands in the . . . of the punishments of God so that the . . . . . fire may torture me.

11. I am faint and naked as Thou; may Thy foes remain mocking me, O Son, when I have believed in Thee.

12. May the scourges drawing Thy blood in full streams over Thee draw my blood too as a flowing torrent (?) in streams.

13. May I be an anvil to be struck by the hammers that struck Thee; may they crush my body's vigour whem I am cast into misery owing to Thy misery.

14. May also the pincers that seized Thy flesh torture nearly every part of each of my limbs, gnawing me so that my sins' pardon be assured.

15. May the points of the pricking thorn-spikes be (as) hooks tearing my skull and gnawing it, O Christ, so that at this Thy fierce anger may relent.

16. The points piercing His head, the spike in His feet, the spear in His breast, the nail in His hands—may these wound me, O God, though my wound is small payment for Thy blood.

17. May I bear my cross with Thee; may I drink Thy draught of gall; may I join in that banquet with Thee, though its drinking be a potion costing me dear.

18. May I mount the cross for Thy sake, and suffer death for Thy death; may my blood be shed in Thine; may I be wounded in Thy wounding.

19. From the grave which punishes heavy sins may I rise, O God, and, as the Patriarchs, go with Thee, O Prince, to Heaven.

20. When Thou sittest, O kindly Son, at Thy Father's right hand in Heaven, may I be to Thee on the royal height (?) a clear witness, spite of my many sins.

21. At Thy command, O merciful Son, may the grace of the Holy Ghost in Heaven pour down in warm virtue-rich flood on my sinful mind and heart.

22. May I be able to follow Thee, keeping Thy Faith—the path of Thy dear disciples—and thus never part from Thee, O Lord.

23. Alas, O Christ, I think not as I should of Thy dear Passion, nor on Thy heart-blood wasted by my sin whenever I disobey Thee.

24. Alas! I do not realise, O Lord, how, to save my soul from Hell, Thou didst shed all the blood of Thy sacred body.

25. Though a man like me can not repay Thee for the blood Thou didst shed for my sins, accept me, O gentle Son of Mary, as I offer myself as *éiric* for Thy blood.

26. May Thy love—given for Mary's sake too—be kindled by Thee in my heart and bring me to Heaven, O Heavenly King.

Notes

MSS.: 23 G 27 p. 201 (G); 23 N 35 p. 19 (X); 23 N 13 p. 151 (N); F ii 2 p. 230 (F); F vi 1 p. 37 (Y). All these texts are late and corrupt.

1*a* maıtpaò GNXFY; *c* huıṗuıl GXFY, huıtṗuıl N; *d* cáċ GNXFY. 2*b* coıṁtaıḃṗe GNXY, cıonntaıḃṗe F; *d* rgan GNXFY. 3*b* coıṁṫuıḃṗe N; *d* na ḋeoıġ GNXFY. 4*c* naṫṁuım FY, naṫḃuım NGX; *d* ḃṗaġḃaım GX, ḃṗaġaım NFY. 5*c* bí ṡuṁ GX. 6*d* boıċṫe GXFYN. 7*a* M. moıṁ ṫo GX; ṫo ḃun ṫo GXFYN. 8*b* loṡ GXFYN. 9*b* ṡo naṫmuıṫ N. 10*c* a bṗuıṁṗuıṁ GXN, a bṗuıṁġuıṁ YF; pıantc N, pıant-GX. *d* ṡo mıaġ ḃṗoıṁtıll neaṁtınne GXNY, ṫoṫ cuṁa ṡaċ lá ó ċéıle F. 11*a* um ṁ. NYFGX; *b* ṡo ṁamuıṫ taoṁ ṫıomṫura NYGFX. 12*a Lege* rgıúṁraḋa ? *c* mbeo NYFGX; mbṗoımntıḃ NYF, bṗonntaıḃ GX; *d* rgaoıltean NYF, rgaoıltaıṁ GX. 14*a* mıaġuıṫ Y; *b* ṗoṁṡlan GXFYN 15*b* ṡo raḃ ıaṫ GXYFN. 20*b* maṁ ṫo ḋeıṁṡıobalaıḃ a ṫúılıṁ GXYF; *c* m'olc NGX; um ṗine N, um ṗinne GXFY; *d* oṁṫa YFGX, oṁṫ N; a ríoġ N, a ṁiġ YF. 21*b* maṁ ṫo ṫeıṁṡıobullaıḃ a ṫúılıḃ N; *c* bṗeaṁaṫ NGXYF; *d* ċṁa NGXFY 23*a* ṫo ṗáıṁ ṫaoıṁ maṁ ṫo ṫı. N; *c* ćíṫ ṫáıl F, ćíṫ ṫo ṫáıl NGXY. 25*a* maıṫṁiġe YF. 26*a* reaṁcra a huċt YFG, reaṁc aıṁı a huċt NX.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

TARA, A PAGAN SANCTUARY OF ANCIENT IRELAND. By R. A. S. Macalister, LITT.D., LL.D., F.S.A., Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin. London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931. 10s. 6d. net.

THE title of this book describes the thesis, which goes to show that Tara in prehistoric times was a centre of religious worship. The book has a further practical object. From the grandeur of this ancient site, from its structural remains still extant or attested by credible writings, from its history, traditions and legends, Professor Macalister makes the case that a systematic exploration of Tara is a project of the highest archaeological importance and is likely to lead to a large advance in archaeological knowledge.

We have indisputable evidence that Tara in the fifth and sixth centuries was the seat of a line of kings who claimed and were recognised to be the chief kings of all Ireland. This line of kings, like the banyan tree, rooted its branches in other places, and new stems arose which excelled the old local stock in vigour and growth, so that Tara ceased to be the actual seat of the high-kingship; yet for centuries afterwards the title "king of Tara" continued to bear the meaning "king of Ireland." As the title projected itself thus forwards, it seems also to have projected itself backwards, and medieval writers thought of a succession of kings ruling Ireland from Tara during times of remote antiquity. The evidence of the sagas shows a line of Leinster kings preceding the historical line of kings of Ireland in Tara. Whether the historical highkingship was a new institution or the revival of an old one, based on a traditional all-Ireland headship seated in Tara, is a matter of speculation which is not determined by the known evidence. Apart, however, from the question of a central monarchy, it remains to be ascertained by archaeological investigation of the site what is the antiquity of Tara as a centre of human activities, what was the nature of those activities, and in what manner they changed or persisted during successive periods. The amateur excavations undertaken in 1899 in search of the Ark of the Covenant produced one important discovery. They revealed the existence of ancient trenches, curvilinear in plan, cut, not in the deep earth that covers the hill of Tara, but

in the underlying rock. The photograph facing page 42 in this book shows one of these trenches cut in the rock to a depth of five or six feet. The rock trenches have no structural relation to the existing earthworks and so belong to an older period of occupation. Works of such magnitude give evidence that already in that older period Tara was a place of eminent importance, and cause a reasonable anticipation of valuable results from proper exploration.

At present, "sanctuaries" are more or less in the vogue, and the vogue is always a danger to the course of scientific or historical investigation. At the risk of reinforcing the vogue in this case, it may be pointed out that a centre of political rule is likely, for a special reason, to have been also a centre of religious worship in pre-Christian Ireland. In early Christian Ireland the king of a *tuath* combined three functions: he was president of the assembly, commander of the forces, and judge in the court of the *tuath*. In pre-Christian Ireland he is likely to have been also priest of the *tuath*. At all events, though our earliest writings in Latin and in Irish were in close touch with heathen tradition, no distinctive Irish name corresponding to *sacerdos* has been found in them, nor do they show any recognition of a distinct class of persons performing sacerdotal functions in heathen times. In agreement with the earlier writings in Greek and Latin, they ascribe no sacerdotal functions to the Druids. Professor Macalister (chapter IV.) has well shown that in the Christian period supernatural powers were still attached in tradition to the kingly office: the king who performed his functions rightly (especially, we may note, his judicial function) was thought to influence the forces of nature for the benefit of his people; for their harm on the contrary, if he failed in performance. We may question whether the evidence warrants so much as the statement (p. 126) that "in the king, then, we are to see a personage who, by his inauguration, has been elevated to godhead." It is possible, indeed, to discern quite a contrary implication. The king, at all events, was an intermediary between his people and the unseen powers, whose favours towards his people he might win or lose by the manner in which his functions were performed; and in this respect it is obvious that the character ascribed to the kingly office could have been derived from a time when the offices of king and priest were not separate. In Athens, when kings were replaced by archons, "a considerable portion of the judicial functions of the ancient kings devolved upon the *archon eponymus*," command in war was given to the

archon polemarchus; but the title of king was retained by the *archon basileus*, who "was considered a representative of the old kings in their capacity of high priest, as the *rex sacrificulus* was at Rome. . . . . His wife also, who was called *basilissa* [*i.e.*, queen], had to offer certain sacrifices." In the absence, then, of evidence for any other priests in pre-Christian Ireland, it seems reasonable to think that the kings combined the sacerdotal with the governmental, the military, and the judicial functions.

Following Sir James Frazer, Professor Macalister proposes to draw a parallel between the kings of Tara and the kings of Aricia in the Latin tradition. Aricia was "an ancient town of Latium at the foot of the Alban Mount, on the Appian Way, 16 miles from Rome . . . . In its neighbourhood was the celebrated grove and temple of Diana Aricina, on the borders of the Lacus Nemorensis (*Nemi*). Diana was worshipped here with barbarous customs: her priest, called *rex nemorensis*, was always a runaway slave, who obtained his office by killing his predecessor in single combat. The priest was obliged to fight with any slave who succeeded in breaking off a branch of a certain tree in the sacred grove." Macalister finds a parallel in the medieval lists of the pre-Christian kings of Tara. The analogy at first sight appears to have some force, but the more we examine it the weaker it becomes. The list itself is demonstrably a relatively late concoction. It was formed by taking names from the pedigrees of the chief provincial dynasties in a sort of irregular alternation, so that it represents the kingship of Tara as having been held turn about by the ancestors of different lines of provincial kings. The fiction had the virtue of making the list more widely acceptable. Its method, which might well be inferred from a study of the genealogies, is laid bare by a curious error. In the pedigree of the kings of Munster, the name of Nia Segamon is followed by a note: *Amáthair Flidais Fholtchain*, etc., telling that the mother of Nia Segamon was Flidais who made dairy cattle of the wild deer. In compiling the list of "kings of Tara," *a máthair* ("his mother") was mistaken for a personal name, changing in time to Amadair, later to Adamair, and we are gravely told by Gilla Coemain that Amathair Flidais Foltchain reigned in Tara for thirty years, and that, having slain the king before him, he was duly slain by the king who succeeded him. Macalister recognises that the list is something less than historical, but argues that the mode of succession here exemplified embodies a genuine tradition. We should expect other and better evidence of such a tradition than its tacit and not at all consistent embodiment in a fictitious

list. The artificers of the list were well aware that succession passed normally in one dynastic kin, and when they invented a succession which passed from one rival kin to another, it was quite congruous to explain its passage by battle and victory.

In Chapter V. Professor Macalister deals with the ancient Assemblies of Tara, noting that the references to these are "so late that they refer to them by a loanword, *feis* (festum), instead of the orthodox native word, *óenach*." *Feis*, however, is an Irish word meaning "sleep," though it may have been attracted in usage to the similar Latin word. The early annals translate it by the Latin *coena*, and in the law tracts it means a banquet. Numerous ancient writings show that ceremonial banquets in Ireland were held in the late evening and that those who attended them remained as guests for the night. The Feis of Tara was therefore quite a distinct kind of assembly from the *oenach*, which was held in the open air, was attended by a large throng of people, and included chariot-racing among its customary features. At Tara no *oenach* was held, and this may explain the statement cited (p. 167) from Keating that "the sacrifices appropriate to the Tara festival were not offered at Tara itself but at a preliminary meeting at Tlachtga," which was a place of public assembly. The ordinary assemblies under the high-kings were undoubtedly held at Tailtiu (p. 164). The Feis of Tara must therefore have been of the nature of a "court." It may have been characterised by specifically heathen ceremonies, and while the legend of the desertion of Tara in the reign of Diarmait (pp. 35-39) is recognised to be not quite historical, it may have a basis in the fact that the last recorded Feis of Tara was held under Diarmait.

Without accepting the Arician analogy, we cannot question the main thesis that Tara, besides being a great political and social centre, was also a great religious centre in pre-Christian Ireland. Here and elsewhere, near and far, the reading of this book will create an eager expectation of the fuller knowledge to be derived from a rightly directed exploration. A notable feature of the book is the reproduction of photographs taken from the air. The time has come when such photographs are a necessary part of the archaeological exploration of large sites. We may even look for duplex photographs, which, used with the stereoscope, produce an effect of reality that seems hardly possible until the eyes have seen it.

E. MacN.

Astronomy

THE MYSTERIOUS UNIVERSE. By Sir James Jeans, M.A., D.Sc., Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.S. Cambridge University Press. 1930. 3s. 6d. net.

THE STARS IN THEIR COURSES. By Sir James Jeans. Cambridge University Press. 1931. 5s. net.

THE enormous success of *The Mysterious Universe* can only be explained by the encouragement it gives to the belief which all men knowingly or unknowingly crave for—a belief in their spiritual destiny. The majority of those who have read this book possess but the vaguest notions about its scientific significance. But all can grasp its spiritual import. Its chief value from this point of view lies in the fact that it contains a leading scientist's confession that physical sciences founded on a mechanical interpretation of the universe cannot explain all that the study of nature reveals. In other words nature, according to Sir James Jeans, postulates a creator of some kind. Though this confession deserves a hearty welcome, it would be a mistake to attach any very great importance to his general message.

Throughout the book there is evidence of the tendency so dear to Englishmen—the tendency to compromise. The author takes away with one hand much of what he gives with the other, with the result that at the end of the last chapter one has but a very hazy idea of what the lecturer wished to convey. It would have been fairer to the ordinary reader—for whom, presumably, this book was written—had the author placed in a prominent place at the beginning the statement he reserves for the last paragraph : " And with this reflection before us [*i.e.*, the ever changing current of scientific thought] we may well conclude by adding, what might well have been interlined into every paragraph, that everything that has been said, and every conclusion that has been tentatively put forward, is frankly speculative and uncertain."

Again if we compare the first and last chapters, we find instances of this tendency to compromise. In the first chapter the view is suggested that this world in which we live came into being by some sort of a chance collision : "Into such a universe we have stumbled, if not exactly by mistake, at least as the result of what may properly be described as an accident."

In the last chapter we read :—

> The new knowledge compels us to revise our hasty first impressions that we have stumbled into a universe that either does not concern itself with life or was actively hostile to it . . . We discover that the universe

shews evidence of a designing or controlling power that has something in common with our individual minds . . . . . we are not so much strangers or intruders in the universe as we thought at first. These inert atoms in the primaeval slime which first began to foreshadow the attributes of life, were putting themselves more, and not less, in accord with the fundamental nature of the universe.

There is something unsatisfying about the author's concept of the objective reality of matter. His view is, he says, not altogether dissimilar from that of Bishop Berkley, who wrote: "So long as they (material objects) are not actually perceived by me, or do not exist in my mind, or that of any other created spirit, they must have no existence at all, or else subsist in the mind of some Eternal Spirit." Yet the author is unwilling to admit that he is anything so crude as an idealist :—

Objective realities exist, because certain things affect your conciousness and mine in the same way, but we are assuming something we have no right to assume, if we label them as either "real" or "ideal." The true label is, I think, "mathematical" if we can agree that this is to connote the whole of pure thought, and not merely the studies of the professional mathematician . . . The label we have selected does not, of course, relegate matter into the category of hallucination or dreams. The material universe remains as substantial as ever it was, and this statement must, I think, remain true through all changes of scientific or philosophic thought.

But when we seek to know how substantial the world "ever was," we must refer to chapter IV, where we find the following conclusion drawn from the modern theory of matter, which science has ultimately reduced to a system of wave-forms :—

It may be well to state our conclusion in advance. It is, in brief, that the ethers and their undulations, the waves which form the universe, are in all probability fictitious. That is not to say they have no existence at all; they exist in our minds, or we should not be discussing them; and something must exist outside our minds to put this or any other concept in our minds. To this something we may temporarily assign the name "reality," and it is this reality which is the object of science. [These ethers and their waves are not real in the sense understood by the scientists of fifty years ago]. And yet they are the most real things of which we have any knowledge or experience, and so are as real as anything possibly can be for us.

Surely a "Mysterious Universe." !

Although *The Stars in their Courses* did not appear until after *The Mysterious Universe*, it should logically precede it. In this book the author undertakes to provide the reader who "has no scientific knowledge of any kind" with an introduction to the facts and theories of modern astronomy. The descriptive portions of this work are altogether admirable, and the facts of astronomy are stated in simple and, as the subject demands, picturesque language. The account of the night sky and of the naming of

the Constellations is, perhaps, the best amongst many good things. When it comes to theory the author is not so happy. It is clearly impossible to expect readers devoid of any scientific knowledge to grasp the proofs of the rotation of the earth founded on terrestrial experiments. Again the account of the evolution of the material universe from a gas-like substance uniformly filling the whole of space is not convincing. We read : " Then it can be proved that the gas would not stay spread uniformly through space in this way, but would immediately begin to condense into detached balls." If this means a spontaneous organisation out of chaos without any outside or directing influence, then—in the absence of a definition of space—the statement seems to contradict the whole law of entropy, and it conveys a completely erroneous idea of the " becoming " of the universe as portrayed by Eddington and others. While therefore recommending this work as a most interesting and useful account of the wonders of modern discovery, it is necessary to warn the unscientific reader that he must exercise great caution in accepting the theories propounded—even the author himself is not too sure of them.

H. V. G.

Biography

SAINT PATRICK. His Life and Mission. By Mrs. Thomas Concannon, M.A., D. Litt. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1931. Pp. xxxiv + 260. 6s. net.

THE sources of S. Patrick's life are to be found among the earliest written records of these isles. Their antiquity attracts the historian, as their difficulty fascinates the scholar. Patient research has succeeded in establishing satisfactorily the dates of the main events of the Saint's life, so that the chief problem awaiting solution is to fit the remaining records into this chronological framework and interpret the whole in the light of continental and Irish history. To this task Mrs. Concannon, author of the scholarly Life of S. Columbanus, has turned her mind, and the present volume contains the results. These, as might be expected, form a valuable contribution to Patrician studies, and her many brilliant suggestions open new vistas for future research. A few instances may be given to illustrate her reasoning and judgment.

She propounds a new theory about the site of the wood from which the voices of the children were heard as they called Patrick to return and walk once more amongst them. The oldest manuscript of the Saint's Confession, the Book of Armagh, calls this

wood Silva Fochluti, but she prefers the reading Silva Virgulti found in all the other extant manuscripts, five in number, and thereupon proposes the following equation: Silva Virgulti= *Caill Chléithe = Ceall Chléithe = Kilclief at the mouth of Strangford Lough. This theory has two advantages: it brings Patrick back straight to the district from which the voices calling him came, and it explains why Patrick, who was going to revisit his old master, Míliuc, in Co. Antrim, put in at Strangford Lough instead of sailing on to Belfast Lough, for Míliuc's daughter lived not far off, and Patrick met Míliuc's grandson in the neighbourhood. Though this theory does not get rid of all difficulties, it is ingenious and merits careful consideration.

The most critical event of Patrick's life, and the one that gave occasion to the writing of his Confession, was the arrival of Secundinus, Auxilius and Iserninus in 439. The opposition of the seniors, Patrick's success in retaining the apostolate, Pope Leo the Great's approval of Patrick, and the foundation of Armagh are all connected with it. That a serious attempt was made to supplant Patrick as head of the mission and that it failed in consequence of the saint's appeal to Rome is a fair deduction from the evidence, but it is not so clear that the saint was actually deposed or that he went in person to Rome to prosecute his appeal. Much depends on the interpretation of two obscure paragraphs in the saint's Confession. Mrs. Concannon dose not hesitate to draw those two conclusions, and she confirms her thesis by showing that it solves the mystery of Sean-Phadraig and explains the list of Armagh bishops as handed down in the Psalter of Cashel.

Dealing with the entry in the Annals of Ulster at the year 443, "Patrick, the bishop, flourishing in the ardour of faith and doctrine of Christ in our province," she opens up another fruitful line of thought. Province, she argues, must be taken here in its ecclesiastical sense. Hitherto the various churches of Gaul had been linked up with Rome through the church of Arles. Pope Leo I abolished the intermediation of Arles, and the churches of Gaul became subject immediately to that of Rome. Taking this policy of Leo the Great's in conjunction with the same Pope's approval of Patrick's faith, she concludes from the use of the word 'province' in the Annals of Ulster that Pope Leo on that occasion released Ireland from its subordination to Gaul and constituted it an ecclesiastical province directly subject to the Holy See. It may be added that the subsequent entry in the same Annals "A.D. 444, Ard Macha fundata est, ab urbe condita usque ad hanc civitatem fundatam M CXCIIII" confirms this

theory, for the Roman computation of the date suggests a formal Roman document as the source. This raising of the status of the Irish Church, however, tended to increase its isolation. No longer subordinate to the Church of Gaul, Ireland's communications with the Continent became less and less frequent for more than a century.

Having given these instances of her critical acumen, I may conclude these remarks with her estimate of the Saint's character. She finds the true explanation of his wonderful success in his interior life, which showed itself in his lively faith and spirit of prayer, his sincerity and unworldliness, his love of the poor and sympathy with the afflicted. But Patrick was not only a great Saint, he was a born organiser. Of him a well-known continental professor has said that he was the originator of the missionary methods that prevailed all through the Middle Ages till the rise of the Mendicant Orders. As distinctive marks of his missionary method, Mrs. Concannon enumerates his early perception of the necessity of training up a native clergy, his tolerance of native institutions, and his foresight in enlisting the help of women in his missionary work. "St. Patrick," she says, "had to be a pioneer among missioners, and when we consider how marvellous a missionary machine he perfected, single-handed, so to speak, and how triumphantly he anticipated by fifteen centuries the most highly approved discoveries of modern 'missiology,' we cry out in startled admiration at the greatness of his character and his genius." JOHN MACERLEAN.

ISABELLA OF SPAIN. By William T. Walsh. London: Sheed and Ward. 1931. 15s.

A GOOD popular life of Isabella the Catholic was overdue. It could scarcely fail to be at once full of interest and fascinating reading. This book is both. The subject was a great one, and Mr. Walsh has almost done full justice to it. Indeed, he might claim that on certain side issues, which fairly arise from the consideration of Isabella's work and ideals, he has given us such generous contributions both of real research and mature judgment that it is ungrateful not to thank him unreservedly. The great queen's career certainly offered to the biographer the most varied matter on which to exercise his talent, and one of the most admirable things about this book is the sense of proportion which has assimilated and ordered so many phases in the life of Isabella. To many she has long been familiar as a romantic and splendid figure, the heroine of Irving's *Conquest of*

Granada, the gracious and far-seeing patron of that strange dreamer in the Franciscan habit, Christopher Columbus. To these aspects of the "incomparable woman," as Peter Martyr called her, we must now add others not less fascinating and perhaps of greater general interest. In the pages of Mr. Walsh's book we see her as a great war minister, an inspired publicist, the creator and protector of the Spanish Inquisition. We see her also in her more intimate moments, with her splendid brother, Don Alonso, with her childhood's friend, Beatrix de Bobadilla, with her husband, Ferdinand, who was always at his best in her company and who was in so extraordinary a degree the complement and instrument of her genius. We see her with her friends: with Ponce de Leon, the incredibly picturesque crusader; with Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, the third king of Spain, with Cardinal Ximenes, the Reformer; with Fray Thomas de Torquemada, the grand Inquisitor, and Hernandez Gonsalvo de Córdoba, the Grand Captain. The marriage policies which she and Ferdinand initiated bore fruit in the largest hereditary empire Europe had seen or, indeed, was to see. Yet it is, perhaps, more remarkable that all her children, brief or unhappy as their lives were, found love in their marriages of policy, even as Isabella herself had done.

It is, perhaps, no more than a personal predilection that finds most fascinating, in so much that is of interest, the record of the struggles by which the small yellow-headed girl kept her soul at the court of her infamous half-brother, Enrique IV of Castile, and gradually acquired the qualities which made her the true creator of Spanish unity and Spanish greatness. At this period of her life her extraordinary strength of character, her deep piety, her sense of the vocation and dignity of the royal house are all attractive and admirable. To this period we have to go back repeatedly if we are to understand how, without any change in her fine character beyond that deepening and strengthening which the years brought, she is found holding her Friday audiences and hanging brigands and murderers by the score, conniving at or rather in full agreement with the policy which led to the expulsion of the Jews, the forcible conversion of a great part of the Moors, and the death at the hands of a secret tribunal of thousands of the citizens belonging to the wealthiest and not the least industrious classes in Spain. Through all the problems which such a career raises the author is an admirable guide, at once judicial in weighing the arguments, moderate in his views of the problem presented, and both sound and courageous in the principles on which he bases his ultimate conclusions.

This cannot have been an easy book to write. To follow in the train of Irving and Prescott is to have much expected of one. But it can be said that in this respect, too, the book is a complete success. There is scarcely a dull page in the six hundred; and the style, always lucid and correct, rises easily to the great moments. Perhaps one of its most pleasing features is the easy and sure touch with which the pictures of many of the minor actors in Isabella's drama are sketched in. It would be easy to reproduce a whole portrait gallery: Alonso, the boy prince, half puritan, half crusader, so like his famous sister; Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, a strange mixture of patriot and traitor; Charles VIII of France, Savonarola's hero; and Margot, destined to imitate her mother-in-law as a great administratrix in the Netherlands, but whom we meet as a very lively young lady writing her epitaph in humorous vein during a terrific storm at sea. One example, however, must suffice to give a fair idea of the author's treatment of the minor characters in his drama. It is a portrait of that Cardinal Roderigo Borgia who was later to be too well known as Alexander VI.

> When he sailed from Ostia for Spain in May, 1472, he was just forty years of age, tall and powerfully built, a commanding and majestic figure. On nearer view one saw that he had coal black eyes, extremely penetrating, though they had a habit of blinking; but his nose was crooked, and there was a certain coarseness in the whole face that corresponded well with his reputation. The legend that makes him a morose and inhuman monster is false. He was the child of his age, however, and a notable example of the evils of nepotism; for his uncle, Pope Calixtus III, had made him a cardinal and enriched him at the age of twenty-three, and power and luxury had been the ruin of him. But he was a gentleman of courtly manners, a charming conversationalist, a good judge of men, an administrator of great capacity, a cavalier irresistibly attractive to women. Had it not been for the priestly office that he dishonoured, he might have passed as a man of average morality in Renaissance Italy.

With so much to praise it is, perhaps, ungracious to advert to the minor defects in the book. The author, in the treatment of the military history of the reign, seems inclined to put too much emphasis on the picturesque and individual side of the story. It is not made clear that in these years the infantry that was invincible for nearly a century was being moulded on the best Swiss models. A good general map would simplify the story and add to the reader's pleasure, and it would be an undoubted gain if some plans, both of the final campaigns against Granada and of the manoeuvres which ended in the battle of Toro, were provided. Again, the index is faulty and inadequate, and no word-portrait can quite supply the absence of pictorial illustration of the great queen. One other fault, not of omission, is

the occasional lapse of the author into the over highly coloured style so popular with many modern biographers. In his case it is the more unpardonable, as the ready-made stuff of true dramatic writing was so abundant. But these are minor defects in a book otherwise so worthy of high praise. M. B.

ALEXANDRE LE GRAND. Par Georges Radet. Paris : L'Artisan du Livre. 1931. 40 francs.

It is probable that no other human being has so profoundly influenced the course of history as Alexander the Great. It was he more than any other man that made Greek civilisation the dominant force in the world, both East and West, that it still continues to be to-day. On his work depended the immense development of the Hellenistic epoch. Augustus merely built higher on the foundation he laid. His conquests, while not so interesting, perhaps, from the purely military point of view as those of Napoleon or Caesar, surpass both in their extent and in their tremendous effects. He was the pupil of Aristotle, whose dream of an all-embracing organisation of science he helped considerably to advance. He must have approximated more closely than anyone before or since to the ideal of Aristotle's master, Plato—the philosopher-king.

It would seem that no other career or character could be so well worth study as Alexander's. And yet when we come to look for detailed knowledge in either, we are grievously disappointed. There was already something almost fabulous about his great undertaking at its very commencement, and even before it was concluded it belonged, and Alexander with it, to legend. He was himself partly responsible ; for his official historiographer, Callisthenes, began to collect miracles almost as soon as the army landed in Asia. Callisthenes in the end fell a victim to his own propaganda, but he left after him a complete Alexander-figure, divinely-born, related to both Achilles and Heracles, and combining with a repetition of their wondrous characters and deeds further elements drawn from the exploits of Dionysos. The deeds of this latter god in fact became inextricably mingled with the course of Alexander's conquests. This legendary figure received embellishments from later writers like Cleitarchos, and passed through the " Alexander-Romance " into the folklore of both mediaeval Europe and of the Orient, where it still survives as Dulcarnon, the Two-Horned One. Most of the later biographies of Alexander are influenced by this hieratic legend ; the most trustworthy account we have of him is the somewhat dry narrative

of the Stoic Arrian, who drew his information largely from the diaries of Alexander's marshals.

The influence of the legend on modern historians may be seen at its fullest in Grote, and is curious in the extreme. The somewhat fantastic Greek hero becomes a repugnant autocrat, whose successes have turned his head. The well-trained pupil of Aristotle becomes a disorderly young tyrant, breaking out continually into excesses due solely to his intemperate nature. Thus Greek hero-worship is turned back upon itself, and its god becomes, if not a demon, at any rate a somewhat commonplace young man about town in a position too great for him. More recent historians, such as Tarn in England and Wilcken in Germany, have shown the unreality and inconsistency of this picture and have tried to discover the real Alexander behind the vast legendary accretion.

Unfortunately M. Radet's work, while well-written, learned, and agreeable, betokens a reaction, not so much to Grote's unlovable tyrant as to the equally improbable Achilles-Heracles-Dionysos hero. While emphasising justly the complications of Alexander's character, M. Radet, we think, tends altogether unduly to put the intelligence of his hero out of sight. He revives a number of legendary episodes, such as the death of Batis, the massacre of the Branchidae, the burning of Persepolis at the bidding of Thais, and the drunken procession through Caramania, which criticism had long since consigned to the region of the apocryphal. The Alexander that emerges from his pages is even more unreal and inconsistent than the Alexander of Grote. He is at once a woman-hater and a roysterer amenable to the orders of courtesans, a Greek generalissimo and an aspirant for world-kingship, a romantically merciful conqueror and a ruthless savage. He may have been a man of many impulses—few great men are simple and easy to understand—but the legend which makes him act consciously and deliberately as a god from the beginning, in spite of M. Radet's imaginative advocacy, is incredible. If he had been such a crazy visionary, he would not have been Alexander, and the history of the world would have gone differently. M. T.

THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS. Originally compiled by the Rev. Alban Butler. Edited, revised and copiously supplemented by Herbert Thurston, S.J., and Norah Leeson. Vol. III. March. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1931. Pp. 460. 7s. 6d. net.

A NEW popularity is being given by Fr. Thurston and Miss Leeson

to the fine old work of Butler, that source of untold spiritual profit to so many generations of Catholic readers. These volumes edify like their predecessors, albeit pruned of so many picturesque legends. They conform now, as much as is desirable in a series of the kind, to the tastes of the twentieth century. The joint editors are to be congratulated on the continued success of their collaboration.

March has this peculiarity, as Fr. Thurston points out in the Preface, that the saints honoured in it "are in a peculiar degree representative of national or class sentiment." Its opening day is the feast of St. David, the patron saint of Wales. Soon afterwards comes St. Thomas Aquinas, patron of scholastic studies; then St. John of God, patron of hospitals and the sick; next St. Gregory the Great, so deeply respected and loved by our old Irish saints and moreover "Apostle of the English"; next our own St. Patrick, whose loyal children are to be found in every quarter of the globe; followed soon by St. Joseph, Patron of the Universal Church; and St. Benedict, the Patriarch of monasticism in the West. Short biographies of these alone would fill a volume, yet the editors have to find room for some 240 others. The seven pages conceded to St. Patrick must thus be regarded as flattering to our National Apostle.

Catholics in Canada and the United States will rejoice to find a comparatively long account of the North American martyrs, recently canonized. Scotch devotion will be fostered by the description of Fr. John Ogilvie's martyrdom and his elevation to the altars in 1929. Readers with mystical leanings will be tempted to dally over the page that tells of Blessed Henry Suso; ladies in the married state will find food for reflection in the life of St. Frances of Rome; nuns of austere rule in the life of St. Colette. St. Clement Mary Hofbauer, the second founder of the Redemptorists in Central Europe, appears now in Butler's *Lives* for the first time.

Perhaps the most interesting pages in this volume, from the Irish point of view, are those which deal with the development of devotion to St. Joseph in the West. The liturgical cult of this great saint seems to have begun, not in Rome nor in Gaul, but in Ireland. "Joseph, sponsi Mariae" appears under March 19th in the eighth century Martyrology of Tallaght; "Joseph, name that is nobler, Jesus' pleasant fosterer" under the same date in the Félire of Oengus (end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century). This was the starting point for future developments; but these, as the editors point out, came slowly.

No feast of St. Joseph is found in a Roman Breviary until 1482, and no Mass in his honour until 1505. Here, then, is another point of liturgy where Irish usage has affected the Universal Church.

This new edition of Butler's *Lives* is an ideal series for the Catholic home. J. R.

NAPOLEON OR PROSTRATION BEFORE THE HERO. By Werner Hegemann. Translated from the German by Winifred Ray. London: Constable. 1931. 18s. net.

NAPOLEON. By Emil Ludwig. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. London: Allen and Unwin. 1927. 21s. net.

MODERN biography becomes increasingly difficult to appreciate at its true value. It becomes more and more akin to the historical novel in its style and form. Frequently, too, its writers bring to their work that enthusiasm for psychological analysis characteristic of the modern novelist, and instead of an account of the subject of their work they endeavour to make a study of his motives and veer off into the domain of speculative history. This practice of abandoning what-has-been for what-might-have-been is dangerous in writing true history. Such writings may have a wider appeal to the reading public, but it must be doubted if they serve as well the needs of the student and the scholar. When the publishers describe Herr Hegemann's new study of Napoleon as a book that "reads as easily as a novel," doubts at once arise as to its merits as a serious work. These doubts are false yet true.

Herr Hegemann's addition to the historical literature on Napoleon is no light reading. It bears testimony to the great learning and industrious research of the author. He would seem to have made a study of all the secondary authorities and of some of the primary sources for his history. There is gathered together in these pages the testimony of leaders of men and thought in Napoleon's own and later days, of his diarists, of his biographers old and new, of his friends, and of his traducers. Goethe, Schiller, France, Shaw, Whately, Byron, Rosebery, Bismarck, Ludwig and a whole cosmopolitan host are included in a random list. They contribute their witness to a psychological study of Napoleon's character and actions in a form difficult to follow, and the conclusions from their witness are never clearly stated, but rather suggested.

The author's purpose is the destruction of the Napoleonic

legend. He has had some practice as a destroyer of legends in his former work on Frederick the Great. An ironic dedication to Napoleon's German admirers gives the keynote of this attack. Irony is largely employed throughout. An attack on Napoleon is more difficult than one on Frederick. Napoleon's reputation and claim to greatness do not owe much to the admiration of a Carlyle. None of his biographers has ever been accepted as giving the world the last word on his career. His appeal to the judgment of posterity must always be based on his own tremendous achievement. A soldier of fortune, he came to threaten Europe with an imperial yoke, and he died in the exile from which he sprang. He was not a soldier only, he was a legislator and a statesman, a militarist and a peace-maker, a diplomat and a man of the people. The child of the Revolution, he dominated the crowned reactionaries of Europe as the Revolution had frightened them before. He was brought to his knees by the only Constitutional Monarchy in Europe, by the stubborn efforts of the only country, outside of France, where the popular voice had as yet gained even a slight control in public affairs.

The great campaigns, the victories, the triumphant entries into capitals, the retreat from burning Moscow, the final destruction are not fit matter for an epic. And so Herr Hegemann writes a ballad. Ballads as frequently enshrine the courageous deeds of the people's heroes as they treat of small actions of small men. Herr Hegemann prefers to be a minor bard. Petty defects are set against great qualities, that the stature of this colossus may be reduced. Thus Napoleon was a great general, but a poor horseman (at the battle of Lodi he was pulled out of a ditch by one of his officers); an inspirer of great legislation, but an indifferent speaker of the French tongue (at the Council of State he robbed others of the ideas he was unable to express). Against his oft repeated motto of "a clear course for talent" are related obscure and unvouched stories of his jealousy of his own officers, while at the same time he is reproached for extravagance in his reward of their services. The Tsar Alexander, the mystic, is greater than this "talented buffoon" of the people. Napoleon is charged with madness, with suicidal tendencies, and is suspected of epilepsy. Caesarism and a lust for conquest are his guiding motives; though these conclusions are derived from flimsy evidence. Goethe's reverence for the Great Emperor is an unpardonable sin, the guilt of which must be as much atoned for by the one as by the other.

Herr Hegemann is at his best in the portraits of the other characters in his book: Goethe, Schiller, Nietzsche, Frederick the Great. Perhaps because he has less venom against them.

Herr Emil Ludwig's *Napoleon* is the work of an admirer, but not of a fanatic. For his sin of admiration he comes under the lash of his brother German's irony. He figures even in the dedication. In his book Herr Ludwig has devoted himself solely to the study of the central figure, to the exclusion of all others. The result is a clearer picture. He makes himself, in a sense, "the posthumous secretary of the man he writes about," a role recommended to all biographers by Mr. Philip Guadella. He pays tribute to the great qualities of the man: his talent for war; his vision, which planned new conquests in the hour of defeat; "his three fundamental powers . . . self-confidence, energy, imagination"—including, as they did, "dignity . . simplicity . . frankness . . honour . . gratitude . . unflagging industry . . . courage." He brings Napoleon into the modern world, saluting him as the founder of the League of Nations.

With all this, Herr Ludwig recognises that men are fallible creatures. He sees the disaster in the Russian campaign and Napoleon's want of foresight in important details connected with it. The error and the immorality of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien are recognised. Napoleon's fatal trust in his own family and his promotion of them; the evil genius of Fouché and Talleyrand, to which he continued obstinately blind; the decisive influence of Stein in his downfall, a man of whom he might once have made a friend—all these are evidence of a poor capacity to judge the character of others and of a fatal family pride. A clever contrast is made of his gradual alienation from the people by his assumption of the imperial purple, while he was still strong in the affection of his soldiers as the green-coated *petit caporal*. The writer sees the flaw in the Continental System, which for its success required the wholehearted co-operation of luke-warm allies in northern Europe. Brilliantly, too, he shows the paradox of the man of the people who either did not understand or was contemptuous of the people. "His only tolerable successes were secured with the French and the Italians. . . . His policy was not very successful in the Negro Republic; he did better with the Jews . . . But in Spain he made a complete mess of things . . . The Germans puzzled Napoleon most of all. . . . The dictator could no longer bring a torch to foreign peoples." How fatal was this failure with the peoples of Spain, Germany, and San Domingo history has shown. A greater man would

have avoided these mistakes ; a lesser one could never have made them. Herr Ludwig's is eminently a more rational study, a better example of the modern biography, and a truer portrait of the subject. P. F. D.

Celtica

TRÍ BIOR-GHAOITHE AN BHÁIS. Séathrun Céitinn a sgríobh. Edited, with introduction, indices and glossary, by Osborn Bergin. Published for the Royal Irish Academy by Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1931. Pp. xxxii + 475.

Is áthas le n-a lán an leagan nua so a dh'fhagháil ó laimh an Aimheirginigh. Is fada atá obair an Chéitinnigh ar iarraidh ; agus dá dhúthrachtaighe a bhíonn Gaedhil na h-Eireann ag luighe isteach ar staidéar na teangan, is eadh is mó is tairbhtheach leó leabhar Chéitinn a tarrac chúcha. Níor shár-sgríobhnóir é, b'fhéidir, ach an Ghaedhilg a bhí aige Gaedhilg gan mháchail an Bhéarlachais a bhí innti. An Laidean a bhí ag imirt air mar cisiompláir a gan fhios dó féin, nidh nách locht air dar ndóigh. Nách amhlaidh a bhí saotharughadh na diadhachta sa teangain ársa úd tréis dul i bhfeidhm ar a aigne.

Ní gádh a rádh gur obair ar aiteas na cruinne a thug an Dr. O h-Aimheirgin dúinn. Tá téacs an ughdair againn go h-iomlán fé dheire thiar agus tá a bhuidheachas san ag dul do'n eagarthóir nua. Is léir do gach aoinne ach breith ar an leabhar gur obair a bhí ag an nDochtúir n-ar chuir sé taithneamh a chroidhe. Tá riar an leabhair ar áilneacht agus is breagh leat é tharrac chúghat marab ionnan as an sean-leabhar. (Ach nár fhéad lucht an Acadaimh clódóir a dh'fhagháil i n-Eirinn n-a mbeadh sé ar a chumas obair chómh cliste díreach a dhéanamh ?)

Is truagh nár cheaduigh méid an leabhair nua do'n Dochtúir an rud a bhí beartuighthe aige do chur i ngníomh, i. staidéar bunúsach ar theanga as stíl an Chéitinnigh do chumadh. Ba mhaith do gach aoinne a leithéid do bheith aige. B'fhéidir go dtiocfadh sé fós. Do bheadh fáiltí geala roimis. Cuireann a bhfuaireamair i dtaobh an Verbal System airc chun tuille dh'fhaghail orainn de'n tsaghas chéadna. Tá a lán Gaedhilge dá sgríobhadh i láthair na h-uaire seo agus bíonn a lán dá sáthadh isteach sa leitridheacht agus a rian ortha. I dtaobh as gurab é is mó a theasthuigheann uainn ná líomhthacht cainnte, n-a dhiaidh san as uile caithimíd a dh'admháil, fairíor, ná fuil an teanga dá saidhbhriughadh fé mar ba chuibhe. Is mithid dúinn dul siar agus an saidhbhreas go léir atá le fagháil age leithéidi de shaghas an Chéitinnigh a dh'fhuadach linn. Is beag má tá éinne ná déarfadh

gurab é an t-Aimheirgineach an té is ceart an saghas san oibre a chur air féin. An méid atá déanta aige cheana féin sa chrot nua atá ar an bhfoclóir seachas mar a bhí sa chéad chur amach, léirigheann sé do cách cad é an chabhair n-a bhféadfaimis bheith ag súil léi uaidh. Is maith is fiú na focail bheaga so leanas a chur le chéile sa dhá leabhair i. do : de : go : sé : mar : foláir agus a lán nach iadsan. Is léir cad é mar shnas a cuireadh air le déanaighe.

C. M.

LEABHAR CLOINNE AODHA BUIDHE. By Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, D. Litt. Baile Atha Cliath : Oifig an tSoláthair. 1931. Pp. xl + 317. 7s. 6d.

Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe, or the Book of Clandeboy, (R.I.A., 24 P. 23) gets its name partly from its contents and partly from the fact that it was compiled in 1680 for Cormac O'Neill of Tullymore and Broughshane in Co. Antrim, a member of that clan. On 1 August 1689 it was in the hands of Arthur Brownlow, Esq. of Lurgan, who signs his name in Irish in it at that date and who allowed Edward Lhuyd, author of *Archologia Britannica*, to inspect it in 1707. It was afterwards in the successive possession of Lord Moira and Dr. Wm. Reeves, from whom it passed to the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin.

Its contents are not confined to the history of Clann Aodha Buidhe, for two important documents concern the Tyrone O'Neills. The first of these is the Leabhar Eoghanach or history of the succession of the O'Neills of Tyrone from Eochaidh Muidhmheadhóin to Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. The Leabhar Eoghanach was put together for Toirdhealbhach Luineach O'Neill between 1577 and 1580, and was subsequently continued till 1603 for Hugh Earl of Tyrone. It adds much to our knowledge, and its utility would have been increased if the editor had added dates, corrected its chronology and checked its statements by collating it with the Annals. In the continuation by Hugh O'Neill that prince enumerates with some detail twelve battles he fought. The names of some of these encounters are not given in ordinary histories, but a comparison with other sources of information could hardly have failed to identify them.

The second document, which is of greater importance, also concerns the Tyrone O'Neills. It is entitled Ceart Uí Néill, or the Customary Rights and Lordship of O'Neill over the Province of Ulster (including the county of Cavan). These rights include such services as rents, coyne, livery, hostings and sieges due to O'Neill from the subordinate chiefs of this vast area. This

document was drawn up about the end of the thirteenth century in the time of Domhnall O'Neill (+ 1325) and revised a century and a half later in the time of Henry O'Neill (+ 1489). It is the legal basis of those claims that led to such frequent wars with neighbouring clans and throws much light upon the social and legal institutions of the North of Ireland previous to the seventeenth century. Here too the editor would have rendered a service to students if he had explained technical terms and obscure allusions.

Of the forty-nine poems which the book contains, forty-two are addressed to chiefs of Clann Aodha Buidhe from Aodh Buidhe II (+ 1444) to Cormac O'Neill, compiler of the book, who died in 1707. These poems are good specimens of metrical technique, but like nearly all such laudatory verses, though perfect in form and idiom, they are poor in personal details. It is as if the poet, when called on to eulogize Mœccnas, found nothing worth recording in the life of his patron and had perforce to fill the void with episodes drawn from ancient lore. The elegy written in 1617 by Lughaidh ó hEachaidhein on Seaán O Néill of Eadan Dubh-chairrge (Shane's Castle) is an exception. It resembles Ceart Uí Néill, mentioned above, inasmuch as the poet represents Seaán as making a circuit of his dominions and exacting tribute from the families dwelling therein. From it we learn that Clann Aodha Buidhe claimed the suzerainty of the whole of Co. Antrim and Co. Down and of the eastern portion of Co. Derry. No genealogical tables have been given, though the need of them for the ready understanding of allusions in these poems as well as in the preceding documents is undeniable; for the frequent recurrence of the same Christian names confuses the reader. Of the O'Neills mentioned in these texts eleven were called Aodh, eight Seaán, six Domhnall, five Art, five Brian, five Enri, four Conn and so on.

The editor has reproduced the text with great accuracy, and deserves also to be complimented for using Irish in his introduction and notes, but his Irish style is not as correct or literary as one would expect in a scholarly work. However the importance and the value of the book are independent of this.

JOHN MACERLEAN.

Classics

ROMAN LITERARY THEORY AND CRITICISM. By Rev. Professor J. F. D'Alton, D.D., D.Litt. London: Longmans. 1931. 21s. net.

One of the most difficult of all problems for the student of Greek and Roman literature is the problem of the standards of

critical judgment to be applied to the authors he is studying. The ancients themselves were very far indeed from being devoid of such standards. The difficulty in fact is that the volume of ancient criticism was so enormous, and its influence, especially since the Renaissance, so all-pervading over modern writers and critics alike, that it is almost impossible to stand back and judge ancient literature with independent eyes. This has to some extent been achieved in recent years by scholars like Wilamowitz, and such critical revision is perhaps the most fascinating task left to classical scholarship. In order to understand ancient literature, however, we need more than independence. We need also knowledge of the aims and ideals the ancient writers set before themselves. This knowledge, well garnered from every quarter, and sifted with minute learning and in the light of a wide scholarship both in ancient and modern literature, is what Dr. D'Alton gives us in his most valuable work.

In view of current tendencies this survey should be of use not alone to pedagogues but to the modern critics and writers who are so busily engaged in fighting the old battle between the Classic and the Romantic. Dr. D'Alton sets forth clearly and exhaustively what the Classics themselves thought of their own work. His subject is really, as must needs be the case, wider in scope than his title indicates ; for all Roman literary theory was drawn from Greek sources, and Roman criticism was merely the application of Greek notions to a literature whose highest aim was to copy the Greeks. In addition his work throws abundant light on the theories of English, French, and German Classicism, and he has made good use both of famous critics like Sainte-Beuve and of more recent works like the *New Laocoon* of Irving Babbitt. His book covers the whole period of Latin classical literature from Naevius and Ennius to the decline under the Antonines, and devotes special attention to the great masters of criticism, Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian. Not only these writers but their models and authorities back to Gorgias and Plato, and down to Philodemos and Neoptolemos, are exhaustively treated.

Roman literature, of course, only began its comparatively short splendour when Greek literature had already undergone more than one far-reaching change. Epic, lyric, and drama, Ionian philosophy and Athenian rhetoric had succeeded each other and left an immense legacy to the wider Greek world of the centuries after Alexander. Above all, this later Greek age was an age of artistic prose and of coterie-poetry. It is too often forgotten by scholars that Roman literature was thus doubly

artificial in its origin, being an imitation of something that was itself already the subject of elaborate canons and long-established conventions. This is not by any means to decry Roman literature ; it is only to point out how much a generation of people brought up as little Romantics, in the convention of no convention, has to unlearn as well as learn in order to understand what Horace or Virgil were about. The most far-reaching influence in this world of rules was that of Rhetoric, which affected not only philosophy and history but even lyrical, and above all dramatic poetry. Itself derived from poetry, its reactions on poetic style and diction were manifold. The Rhetorical school produced the various great literary battles of antiquity, that between the Asianic and the Attic, as well as that between Ancient and Modern whose echoes have not yet died. Pursuit of models declined in the end to antiquarianism, and in the time of Hadrian a scornful critic could describe the works of his rivals as " mera mortuaria glossaria "—" charnel-houses of dead words." Dr. D'Alton gives us a lucid picture of these and similar currents in Roman literary thought, and his book will long remain a storehouse of information for those who are interested in this very large and very important subject. M. T.

Education

A BOOK OF MEDIEVAL LATIN FOR SCHOOLS. By Helen Waddell. London : Constable. 1931. 2s. 6d.

Miss Waddell in this little book comes down from the higher regions of scholarship to minister to the needs of the tiro in Latin studies. It is no exaggeration to say that she has performed her task with felicitous skill, and has succeeded in putting together a very choice anthology of prose and verse, that ought to make at least an acceptable side dish in the literary fare of classical forms in our schools.

Her selection is very varied in its matter, and almost uniformly marked by features of attraction or value—often indeed by both. We do not see how a book of this type can fail to vitalise Latin studies—and it is to be admitted that some such vitalising process must be applied if they are to fill their proper place in the general curriculum.

The boy or girl who reads through this book will have a much juster appreciation of Latin than could be attained by the traditional school reading material. The pupils will have read some of the very greatest poetry that exists in the Latin tongue, *e.g.*, the *Dies Irae*, *Veni Creator*, and such pieces, and also many prose

extracts whose matter cannot fail to appeal to their understanding in a way that the usual authors of the school room can never appeal. The thoughts that come home to the boy's " business and bosom " have their place surely in the school room.

The book contains a very full vocabulary, which minimises any objection that might be made to the extracts on grounds of unfamiliarity of language. Some teachers may object to the use of such authors on grounds of " purity " of style, but such objections are merely pedantic and betray a lamentable lack of the sense of humour on the part of those who use them.

We have one fault to find with the selector's plan. Why does she cut down her extracts when there is no need for cutting ? Why, for example, does she give only six lines of *O Roma nobilis*, when the whole poem might be given and usefully committed to memory ?

It is to be hoped that progressive teachers will give this interesting pedagogical variation a trial. W. J. W.

PERSUASIVE SPEECH. An Art of Rhetoric for College. By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J. New York : P. J. Kenedy. Pp. 268. 1931. 2 dols. 50 cts.

THE results of a long career as a practical teacher of the constructive uses of literature are here presented. The interlacing of extracts from modern English and Irish oratory, with the firm texture of the author's own commentary and exposition of principles, provides a treatise that will rank high even among the numerous manuals which American education can point to in this traditional field of work, treatises often of the finest quality. Indeed it may be said that, in the explicit and formal teaching of the art of argument, American schools and colleges have adhered with both zeal and success to the methods of constructive study of style for practical ends which were developed, for the first time in modern history, within the 16th century, and were reduced to practice in the schools of the following two hundred years.

Express teaching of the traditional art of oratory has practically vanished in France and Germany, where it survived much longer than in England. It would be no disadvantage if Irish education drew closer to American, and to that right line of European practice which was deserted between 1860 and 1880, by taking up again that fruitful co-operation between the study of style and the practice of personal expression which is the main aim of this well-ordered and most readable work. It is all the more attractive because of the most apposite addition of analytical

plans for selected speeches of Cicero, Demosthenes, and Newman (The Second Spring); and for the even more valuable analytical index of this whole work, extending over ten closely printed pages, exhibiting at once the painstaking systematisation of the whole manual and the wide range of critical terms examined in the course of its development. T. C.

History

THE FRANCISCANS. By Father James, O.S.F.C. London: Sheed & Ward. 1930. 2s. 6d.

LES FRANCISCAINS. Par Alexandre Masseron. Paris: Grasset. 1931. 15 fr.

THE FRANCISCANS. By Alexandre Masseron. Translated by Warre B. Wells. London: Burns Oates. 1931. 5s.

THE FRANCISCAN ADVENTURE. A Study in the first hundred years of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi. By Vida Dutton Scudder. London: Dent. 1931. 15s. net.

Works dealing with St. Francis, his life, personality and apostolate and with the history, characteristics, and vicissitudes of the Order which he founded, continue to pour from the press. It is fashionable to credit the agnostic French savant, Paul Sabatier, with being the originator of the present renaissance of Franciscan studies. That Sabatier gave a new and very great impetus to Franciscan scholarship cannot be questioned. But this impetus was not due to any new discoveries made by him; for his Life of St. Francis, published towards the end of 1893, contained nothing not already well-known to writers of the Order and to the Bollandists. His treatment of documents dealing with the beginnings and the early development of the Franciscan movement, for which he has been given so much credit, had been already studied in the light of modern criticism by such scholars as G. Voight and Karl Müller in Germany and by Father (now Cardinal) Franz Ehrle, S.J., who is also a German. Of the latter *The Times*, if I remember rightly, declared, on the occasion of his elevation to the Cardinalate, that he was "the most learned man in Europe." But long before these eminent scholars were heard of several Franciscan writers were at work preparing the way for the renaissance in Franciscan Studies which was to follow. We are indebted to Father Livarius Oliger, O.F.M., Professor of Franciscan History in the International Franciscan College of St. Antonio, Rome, who is recognized universally as a first-class authority, for a monograph entitled "Quattro Precursori del moderno movimento francescano" (Rome: Marietti, 1930).

These four precursors of the present scientific and historical Franciscan movement—all but one Friars Minor—are P. Francesco Frediani, Cesare Quasti, P. Antonio da Rignano, P. Marcellino da Civezza. But these four were only typical of several before Paul Sabatier at all appeared on the scene.

What then is the secret of Sabatier's fame and success as a Franciscan scholar? To my mind the reply is quite simple. Sabatier, in his presentation of St. Francis, addressed himself to the Protestant and agnostic world, exhibiting St. Francis as a sort of ecclesiastical freelance who had broken with Rome. Here Sabatier was only borrowing Renan's projected thesis. According to Sabatier, St. Francis was a veritable forerunner of Luther! And this in the teeth of the Saint's own Rule, at the end of which he declares his Order as "subject and subjected to the Apostolic See" and constant in the Catholic Faith.

People often wonder how it is that Protestant England has taken so keenly to St. Francis. He is now almost a Protestant English Saint. The reason is obvious. Sabatier and others have exhibited him as a forerunner of Protestantism and as the Saint of nature. As the Saint of nature and as the forerunner of Protestantism, St. Francis is totally misrepresented. For once and for all let it be said that St. Francis was not a nature-worshipper, as was that pantheistic poet, William Wordsworth. No two characters could be more opposed—the naturalist Wordsworth and the supernaturalist St. Francis.

Father James, O.S.F.C., and Alexandre Masseron bear me out in all I have hitherto said. Theirs are two very splendid monographs. Father James is very limited in the treatment of his subject, as compared with M. Masseron. He was commissioned by the editors of the "Many Mansions Series" to produce a work called "The Franciscans," whereas the real object of the work was to give "the spirit and ideal" of the Franciscan Order. So the title is somewhat misleading or not adequate. But Father James has done very perfectly the work set to him. His is a very charming essay on Franciscan beginnings and early developments. That he is occasionally "somewhat woolly" is not to be attributed to him personally, but to the form of his commissioned essay. Masseron is much freer. Chapter X of his book ("The Franciscan Spirit") is by far the most valuable. Any one reading this chapter must feel much more enlightened on the subject under discussion than after perusing what Father James has to say on the same subject. All the same I have nothing but praise for Father James's effort to put before

us true Franciscan ideals. Let me quote from him in the interest especially of Protestants. "There are many things physically possible for a certain number of men which are morally impossible for great multitudes. Theologians are well aware of them when they speak of the moral necessity for revelation or for grace . . . When crowds flocked to the standard of St. Francis the same simple-minded heroism was not to be expected from them as from the first few companions. If all men were heroes, then we should have no heroes. And crowds would come almost immediately; it was not then quite so easy to live in hermitages and to trust so simply to Divine Providence for food and raiment. Our Lord Himself had to perform a miracle in the desert."

Protestant historians take no cognizance of this report. Among them I regret to record the author of *The Franciscan Adventure*, Vida Dutton Scudder. I have nothing but admiration for Miss Scudder's research powers. Not that she has brought to light anything new; but her bibliography is simply marvellous. She only omits to state—which takes the ground from her whole thesis—that her master, Paul Sabatier, completely retracted, before he died, in the year 1924, all he had previously written about St. Francis as being anti-Roman. The savant actually took for his text the liturgical antiphone: "Franciscus vir Catholicus—et totus Apostolicus—Ecclesiae teneri—Fidem Romanam docuit." Accordingly, Miss Studder comes a little too late. Had she known of Sabatier's grand retraction, I am sure she would never have produced her present work, so replete with erudition—*sed extra viam.* G. C.

THE LAND OF IRELAND. By Daniel Coghlan, D.Sc.,Econ., B.Comm., B.L. Dublin: Veritas Company. 1931. 10s.

Dr. Coghlan's treatise, intended to be a first or outline review of the entire history of land tenure in Ireland, very naturally has little place for the analysis of tendencies, courses, results, over a range of time which extends from the earliest Brehon legislation down to 1930, inclusive. As its progress reaches modern times, one outstanding characteristic, often sought for in vain in more elaborate investigations, becomes evident. The account, while necessarily taken up with land legislation and its consequences, does get down to the actual people on the land. This is mostly done by means of citations, made from many well-known sources frequently adduced by modern writers. As a whole, they form a very useful collection for the teacher and the student of modern Irish history, and our vocational as well as

our secondary schools will find them, and other specific data in Dr. Coghlan's work, of real service for the better types of examinations now prepared for. The land legislation of the past century as well as the accounts of the century of confiscations from 1560 to 1660, are here available in handy form and without any elaborate setting.

Yet it would be a mistake to imagine that this outline or summary lacks the authentic personal note that comes from personal contact with the land and its uses, its enduring power over the people that dwell on it. More than once Dr. Coghlan draws with skill and impressive power from his own experiences. A conspicuous instance is the criticism of the procedure concerning Griffith's Valuation, carried out in the middle of the last century (pp. 245-246). But the vivid account of a rundale holding in Mayo (pp. 247-248) is even more telling.

The references to sources in the fuller treatise promised in the foreword will gain by being made far more specific. The content and treatment of the separate chapters will benefit by being more limited in their treatment: Dr. Coghlan is fond of allusions, references, analogies. The summaries of Land Acts are often too technical in their legal language, which requires annotation to be serviceable to the average student or general reader. Proper names, as those of Spenser, the land-shark poet, and German names of persons, cities, regions, would benefit by more thorough proof-reading. These small points, however, do not markedly impair the wide serviceableness of this comprehensive summary concerning the history of our people on our land. T. C.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By H. Belloc. Vol. IV (1525-1612). London: Methuen. 1931. 15s. net.

The period covered by the fourth volume of Mr. Belloc's *History of England* is one which is full of interest for its own sake, and at the same time is specially likely to display at their best his many great literary qualities. Mr. Belloc has written much on warfare, and one often feels that he uses his pen as he would use a sword. A born polemist, he has in his present work abundant scope to give free play to his nature—his passionate convictions are stamped deep on his pages, and also, it must be said, his no less passionate prejudices.

The period under consideration witnessed the transformation of England from a Catholic nation to a Protestant nation. It was marked by much that was of supreme importance in its

consequences and by much that was sordidly ignoble in its process. Its historians have written of it with a passion that often seems to belong to participants rather than to mere recorders, and this is natural enough seeing that the issues of the period are issues that concern not merely a period past and gone, but are of vital moment to those of the present.

Mr. Belloc's eager and passionate preoccupation with these issues is felt in every page of his book. The personalities and controversies of the Tudor days are handled in much the same personally interested spirit as marked, some years ago, his journalistic forays into the political field of combat of our own time. He does not come into the lists of history with the device *sine ira nec studio*—and perhaps it is neither possible nor desirable that a writer on such a period and such issues should pretend to such impartiality. Mr. Belloc himself is aware that he is not writing in the bloodless spirit of the academic historian—"impartial minds," he says, "are rare in debates which involve religious emotion." And all through this period the dominating emotion is centred in religion.

Mr. Belloc excels in the power of making his figures stand out in his pages with the vivid features of living personages. He sees them himself as living personages, and so he brings them before his readers' eyes. The present volume contains a whole gallery of these vivid portraits—Cecil, the Seymour brothers, Hutton and the rest are made plain to the reader as they were in life, or at least as Mr. Belloc imagines that they were in life. And this portraiture is not a mere embellishment of the writer's pages, for it fits in with the argument and helps to drive home the conclusion to which it is the writer's aim to lead his reader.

Mr. Belloc's contentions are in the main familiar to all students of the period. His general account of the motives animating the protagonists in the drama are generally receivable. But one would hesitate to accept his presentation in all its details. For instance he seems to think that a great change in men's religious convictions can be wrought with much the same ease as is effected a change in the fashion of women's dress. The facility with which the masses of the English people followed the religious fashions, set by the comparatively few who found in the loot of the Church reasons for theological mutations, does not warrant a belief in any general strength of religious conviction in the masses. The Elizabethan *via media* is explicable only on the supposition of general religious indifference to many things that are essential to genuine religious conviction.

Summing up, one may say that this volume marks the most successful stage of Mr. Belloc's present undertaking as yet attained. It is written with a sustained power of literary craftsmanship and a sincerity of purpose that cannot fail to command the reader's interest and respect. W. J. W.

IRISH NUNS IN PENAL DAYS. By Mrs. Thomas Concannon, D.Litt. London: Sands. 1931. 2s. 6d.

This book deals with a subject kindred to that treated of by the author in her *Poor Clares in Ireland.* Indeed the second and third chapters are mainly an epitome of the matter contained in the larger work. Probably the first part, which deals with the sufferings of Irish religious women in the 16th and 17th centuries, will be found by many readers the most interesting, since it tells of many tragic and exciting incidents. Here we read of the martyrdom of Sister Honoria Burke and of the adventures of Margaret Barnewell and her little maid who, being attacked in the neighbourhood of St. Malo by some ferocious dogs, thought of speaking to them in Irish. On this, the leading hound, recognising the tongue of his puppyhood, ceased to molest them and ordered his subordinates to guard the two ladies till the city gates were opened to them in the morning.

Further on in the book we come to a period less exciting, the 18th and the early 19th centuries, and follow the fortunes of the Poor Clares, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Augustinians and the Benedictines through these dark days of grinding but undramatic persecution. Naturally, there are scarcely any of what can be called personal incidents to record. The nun's spiritual life is a hidden one, and her material existence flows in a tranquil unvarying course from year to year. The only history available is that of the orders themselves—the movements from one convent to another, the founding of new branches, the names of some of the most prominent of the founders, the superiors and the sisters of each establishment. A good many of the convents took girl boarders, and it is a pity that we are not able to form an idea of the daily life of the pupils, the methods of instruction and the subjects taught. But, no doubt, no record of these has been preserved.

When, in the concluding chapters, the life of Nano Nagle, founder of the Presentation Order and her labours amongst the slum children of Cork and amongst the poor generally are dealt with, we emerge into the common life of the world, and can figure to ourselves the saintly woman, "after a well-spent day,

returning through the darkness of the night, dripping with rain, mingled in the bustling crowd, moving thoughtfully along by the glimmering light of some wretched lantern."

It seems to us that this little book, excellent as it is of its kind, would have been improved if certain passages, more suitable to a devotional than to an historical work, had been omitted. The mistake on page 30 by which the great Irish viceroy, the Earl of Strafford, is called "Lord Stafford" (a different title), should be corrected in subsequent editions. M. T. H.

Philosophy

IDEAS. General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology. By Edmund Husserl. Translated by W. R. Boyce Gibson, M.A., D.Sc. (Oxon.). London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. 16s. net.

The German work, of which this book is a translation, appeared in 1913. Previously, in 1900, Husserl's earlier work, *Logische Untersuchungen*, had initiated the new science of Phenomenology, and had exercised a powerful influence in Germany. Many of the discussions in that work were, however, amongst the most difficult in philosophical literature; and Husserl's aim was not accurately understood even by those who came under his influence. The eagerly expected new work, here translated, which appeared first as an article in Husserl's *Jahrbuch*, gave the first full and unambiguous statement of the programme and method of Phenomenology. Husserl's own views had altered and evolved during the intervening "many years of brooding." This work has had, in its turn, an even greater influence on German thought. Outside Germany, Husserl has been, until lately, very little known or read. In the English works on Logic, the first reference I find made to his views is in one of the last works of Bosanquet. In French philosophy also, it is only recently that one finds echoes of his views. This fact is undoubtedly due to the difficulty of Husserl's style of thinking and writing. His terminology is novel and technical; and his elaboration of problems is often of extreme subtlety and intricacy. Considerable time and patience are necessary to master his meaning. Formidable as his writings are, they have their own fascination; apart from the virtuosity displayed, they are outstanding in profundity and fineness of analysis. His philosophy has shown itself one of the most vigorous constructive movements of recent times.

The present work traces out the general outlines and method of the new science of Phenomenology. Both the task undertaken

and the method used find, perhaps, the nearest parallel in Descartes' Meditations. The aim is to secure a first philosophy, a radical beginning, without presuppositions, a bedrock basis for philosophy. The method has some resemblance to Descartes' "universal doubt." It would be, however, misleading to press the parallel. Husserl's philosophy is original and unique, not quite like anything in previous systems, though led up to by the modern development from Descartes and Locke to Kant. First philosophy is an a *priori* and transcendental science. It is arrived at by reflection, going back to what is immediately and originally given. Phenomenology starts from the natural standpoint of common sense. Nothing is negated or criticized in the common sense attitude or in the results of the sciences, mathematical, natural, cultural, metaphysical, or theological. Everything in the outlook of ordinary and scientific knowledge is left as it was before. Whereas Descartes doubted the theses of common sense and the sciences, Phenomenology respects them, but abstracts from or ignores them. Its sphere is at a different level. It makes no use of any propositions drawn from common sense and the sciences; it "disconnects," "puts in brackets," all their theses. This is the method of "phenomenological reduction," which is described at great length in this book, and carried out with great thoroughness. Thus clearing away all that is empirical and relative, we get back to something absolute as the phenomenological residuum. This absolute sphere is the object of the new science. As science of the absolute, it is "ontology." Not, however, an ontology in the ordinary sense; for the absolute to which we get back is the sphere of pure consciousness, and the field of the new science is that of "transcendental subjectivity." It has been objected that Phenomenology thus turns out to be a doctrine,—Idealistic, perhaps even Solipsistic,—rather than a method. In the preface written specially for this translation Husserl replies to this objection.

It is the task of Phenomenology to describe the sphere of pure consciousness; and here it proceeds by intuition, not of facts, but of essences. Pure consciousness reveals itself as highly complex and differentiated. It contains a layer of sensory matter, but is essentially "intentional" or "consciousness of". It implies, accordingly, a world of objects to which it is directed; and has varying "noetic" structure corresponding to the "noematic" complexity of the objects experienced.

The new science thus disclosed opens out a vast programme for concrete or special phenomenology. Since the publication of

this work many contributions have been made to this by Husserl himself and by his pupils. But the greater part remains to be done. "The author has in his old age reached the certainty that he should call himself a beginner." "The far horizons of a phenomenological philosophy, the chief structural formations, have disclosed themselves; the essential groups of problems and the methods of approach on essential lines have been made clear. The author sees the infinite open country of the true philosophy, the promised land on which he himself will never set foot."

Husserl's system has some relations with Scholastic philosophy, and has been regarded by some as giving it support. Much against the empirical trend of the time, he brought back the doctrine of essences. His doctrine of "intentionality" is derived indirectly from the Scholastics, through his early teacher, Brentano.

J. Shine.

Political Science

LA JURIDICTION DE L'EGLISE SUR LA CITE. Par Charles Journet. Paris: Desclée De Brouwer. 1931. 12 fr.

M. Journet's admirable little book may be regarded as at once a completion and a justification of M. Maritain's *Primauté du Spirituel*, reviewed in Studies some few months ago. M. Maritain, it will be remembered, had developed, apropos of the condemnation of the *Action Française*, what he regarded as the traditional Catholic teaching concerning the power and jurisdiction of the Church in temporal affairs. M. Maritain's thesis in effect was this, that the traditional teaching had always been the same, although, of course, its theological expression had gradually unfolded and become more precise. This traditional theory was quite adequately expressed in the well-known thesis of Bellarmine which, although less satisfactory in its formulation, is in essence identical with the dominant theory of the Middle Ages. This position had been attacked with vigour by Ernst Karl Winter on the obvious ground of its quite unhistorical character. The Church according to him, having professed in the Middle Ages the thesis of the *potestas directa* and in the Baroque age with Bellarmine the thesis of the *potestas indirecta*, has come round in the modern world to the thesis of the *potestas directiva*—which seems in practice equivalent to the Gallican position of Bossuet.

M. Journet now comes on the scene and in the present work, which is a model of lucidity and precision, proceeds in detail to justify, by a consideration of all the relevant evidence, the position of M. Maritain. There is a certain charming simplicity—which

appeals to many modern minds—in the theory that the Church is concerned exclusively with spiritual affairs and has nothing whatever to do with what is merely temporal. But this theory will not bear examination for a moment. Obviously the spiritual impinges in all directions upon the temporal. The preaching of the gospel in Ephesus—a purely spiritual activity—ruins the business of the silversmiths. Of course, the Church makes no claim to control, either directly or indirectly, such an occupation as silversmithing; but spiritual activities have inevitably what M. Journet calls *repercussions*. So far there is no problem of *jurisdiction* properly so called. These temporal effects of purely spiritual activities cannot be overlooked, but they involve no necessary claim to purely temporal *jurisdiction*.

The contrary opposite theory, that the Church has at once supreme spiritual and also supreme temporal jurisdiction, has also the charm of logical simplicity; but it is full of pitfalls in practice. It amounts to a total abolition of the State or, at least, its total subjugation. Of course, it must be admitted by all christians that the spiritual end is vastly more important than the temporal. But the temporal end is real and separate, and M. Journet is not prepared to admit that this theory has ever been held officially even in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII. The opposite view is held by many historians, but this arises precisely from the fact that they are *merely* historians and are unacquainted with, or not sufficiently swayed by, the well-known theological rules for the interpretation of such documents. What Boniface may have personally thought or what may have been logically involved in many of his arguments is a matter of indifference. Sixtus V. seems to have approached this extreme theory when he proposed to put Bellarmine's book, *De Romano Pontifice*, upon the Index. Boniface admittedly presents the toughest case for M. Journet's view; but he succeeds in showing, as M. Rivière had already admitted, that the dogmatic portion of the Bull does not contain the thesis of the *potestas directa*.

What then is the traditional theory? M. Journet holds that it is in essence the theory of Bellarmine, although he is not satisfied with Bellarmine's terminology. The supreme principle of christian politics is admirably expressed in the formula of St. Thomas: "*Jus autem divinum quod est ex gratia non tollit jus humanum quod est ex naturali ratione.*" The State is a natural society and always retains its natural jurisdiction. The Church has a spiritual jurisdiction and a spiritual jurisdiction exclusively. The State has exclusively a temporal jurisdiction. The Church and the

State are, therefore, quite distinct societies. The nerve of the problem really lies in the question : To what things or problems does the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church genuinely apply ? Obviously it applies to things entirely spiritual, the preaching of the gospel, the administration of the sacraments. It seems equally clear that it must extend to things partially spiritual—the so-called *quaestiones mixti juris, e.g.*, the effects of marriage, education and so forth. The most difficult problems emerge in connection with things spiritual *per accidens*, incidentally, occasionally—things which in their nature temporal yet become spiritual in exceptional cases or, according to the formula of Cajetan, "*in ordine ad spiritualia.*" An example of this type would be the direct deposition of princes by the spiritual power of the Church. Finally, in matters purely civil the Church has no jurisdiction, although it may influence them by repercussion or by chance. If a prince is deposed by his subjects, not because the Church orders his deposition but because it denounces his inhumanity or injustice, this would be an example of the last type of influence.

The Church undoubtedly has the power referred to by Bellarmine as the *potestas indirecta* ; but the medieval formula for this power is preferable : *Ecclesia habet vere et proprie jurisdictionem in temporalibus prout ordinantur ad spiritualia.* Here we have a formulation of the theory which fits all the official ecclesiastical pronouncements from Gelasius to Leo XIII and explains quite adequately all the official actions of the papacy. If it be urged that the Church has adopted quite different methods of exercising this power at different times, this is in no way surprising. The Church finds itself at different times in different social environments. The medieval christian world is quite unlike the modern world. The precise theoretical formulation of the jurisdiction of the Church is independent of the methods of action which may commend themselves at one time or another. The modern critic will derive very little consolation from M. Journet's theory of the purely spiritual jurisdiction of the Church. A power which extends to the deposition of princes and governments—and what a world of controversy that power evokes—will inevitably be imposed on him "against the stomach of his sense." Of course, it has been said that the exercise of this power was due to the political condition of the times. But M. Journet will have none of this. He is in no sense in favour of tempering the wind to the shorn lamb. The critic who objects to this power will just as readily object to the jurisdiction of the Church in matters like marriage or education. People are always likely to resent

principles, however true and important, which bear hardly on their private desires or convictions. Many critics resent even the Ten Commandments. D. O'KEEFFE.

Social Science

THE FUTURE OF CAPITALISM. By Lewis Watt, S.J. Oxford: Catholic Social Guild. 1931. 1s.

FATHER WATT'S little book is the result of much reading and of much thought. The present economic crisis is unlike any of its predecessors inasmuch as it has occurred at a period of unparalleled technical progress, and the world is steeped in poverty in the midst of plenty. Father Watt correctly concludes that it is the machinery of distribution and not that of production that has broken down, and he shows the manner in which the existing capitalist organization of industry fails on the distributive side. Capitalism, as we know it, is thoroughly analysed and condemned. Father Watt than proceeds to examine several of the remedies proposed to cure the evils of our economic system, and has not much difficulty in exposing the fallacies underlying the distributist and socialist solutions. He favours the re-organization of industry upon a co-operative basis which would combine the best features of private initiative with a suitable measure of public control. Father Watt is perfectly aware that no mere re-organization of industry will solve all the difficulties of the present economic situation; he is as far as possible from being a mere utopian idealist. The bibliography which is supplied is select and up to date, and this little book would serve as an admirable starting point for the general reader who is anxious to acquaint himself with contemporary economic discussion. G. O'B.

UNE DATE DANS L'HISTOIRE DES TRAVAILLEURS. Par G. Guitton. Paris: Editions Spes. 1931. 9 fr.

IT is hardly possible that, within the limits of its size, a more helpful book on the *Rerum Novarum* could have been written. There are 160 pages, about 40 of which are taken by an almost verbatim reprint of the Encyclical. The other sections are a sketch of the personality of Pope Leo XIII; an account of the international movement of social study among Catholics, and the political, economic and religious events in the world that went to the making of the Encyclical; and finally a survey of the practical results of the Encyclical in different countries. The book may be said to show the Encyclical in historical perspective.

The author is not coldly impartial ; the warmth of his sympathies with the working class inclines him always to take the Labour point of view regarding events and to emphasize the support the Encyclical has given to the claims of workers. Mention is made of a move during the eight months coal strike in England in 1926 to present a petition to the Hierarchy, signed by Catholic miners, quoting the *Rerum Novarum* in support of the miners' wages demands. This was a partizan move about which there may be more than one opinion. It is a fact, of which Père Guitton is probably not aware, that during the General Strike of the same year, which was condemned as unjust by the Archbishop of Westminster, a Catholic newspaper quoted the Pope against the Cardinal. The tendency to partizan use of the Encyclical is marked enough to call for some comment and even correction.

I do not know whether there are any people who, for want of reading of the complete Encyclical, are in danger of judging it to have been a demagogic document, but certainly there can no longer be any excuse for those who believe that the Catholic Church has not played a leading part in the progressive social movements of the last forty years. Père Guitton brings the story right up to 1930 and refers to the work of French Catholics for the establishment of a system of social insurance. He shows how the doctrines of the Encyclical are becoming more and more a rallying ground for all the moderate political parties, against the *laissez faire* maxims of a discredited Individualism and the class war teachings of a destructive Marxism. The politicians are often proclaiming papal doctrine quite unconsciously, and a young Catholic who heard a speech by the French Prime Minister last June made the observation : " During the second half of the speech I thought I was listening to a lecture at a Catholic Social Week ! " H. S.

ECONOMIC FRAGMENTS. By D. H. Robertson. London : King. 1931. 10s. 6d.

Everything that Mr. D. H. Robertson writes is worth reading. That it is also worth re-reading is proved by a perusal of this volume of *Fragments* in which he has collected many of his articles and reviews. The greater part of the volume's contents have seen the light before in the *Economic Journal* and other periodicals, but an important article on the theory of wages and some *Juvenilia* are printed for the first time.

The first part of the book contains three contributions to economic theory of permanent value. The essay entitled *Economic*

Incentive, which discusses the factors affecting the supply of labour, throws new light on the response of workers to changes in wage rates and on certain aspects of population growth. The article on *Income Tax and the Price Level* is well known on account of its successful refutation of the opinion of the Colwyn Commission that a tax on profits cannot have the effect of raising prices, and that on *Wage Grumbles* reviews some of the most recent criticisms of the marginal productivity theory of wages. These are the three most important articles in the collection, but the remainder of the volume is full of good things presented with Mr. Robertson's characteristic felicity of style. G. O'B.

Miscellaneous

MÉLANGES MANDONNET. Tomes I and II. Bibliothèque Thomiste. Paris : Librairie J. Vrin. 1930. 75 fr. each.

This remarkable collection of doctrinal and historical studies was published as a sort of literary birthday-gift or *Festschrift* to the well-known scholar P. Pierre Mandonnet, O.P. The contributors—French, Belgian, English, German, Spanish, Italian, American—writing, for the most part, in their own native tongues, have set forth, in a series of articles on widely different subjects, the results of their own personal research-work. This gives that somewhat heterogeneous character to the contents of these volumes which is indicated by their title. The formidable list of MSS. at the end of each tome is eloquent testimony of the scholarly " spade-work " in the libraries of Europe of which they are the result ; and the table of contents reveals a veritable happy hunting-ground for the student of mediaeval scholasticism.

There are articles theological and philosophical ; historical essays dealing with mediaeval university life and with individual writers of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ; studies of texts, MSS. and Summae ; discussions of the influence of St. Thomas upon later Scholastics ; several expositions of the holy Doctor's own opinions, as well as of Franciscan and Carmelite teaching ; and various sidelights on the rise and development of the order of St. Dominic. From such a variety of expert studies —there are more than forty in the two volumes—it is difficult to select any for special mention without seeming to neglect others equally valuable.

Among the theological articles that by A. Landgraf entitled " Das Sacramentum *in voto* in der Frühscholastic " throws useful light upon the laborious process by which the speculations of

the early twelfth century came to be forged into such formulae as *necessitas medii, praecepti : opus operatum, operantis.*

M. Asin Palacios, writing on "Un Aspecto Inexplorado de los Origines de la Teologia Escolastica," offers an effective sedative to those enthusiasts who think that the thirteenth century was a *proles sine matre creata.* He contends that scholastic theology owes several of its most famous questions, as well as its form and method of treatment, to the theological schools of Islam, whose monotheism coincided in many points with Christain teaching, whose doctors (Algazel, Averroes and many others) are continually cited by scholastic writers, and whose widespread influence called forth the *Summa contra gentiles.* This theory, which would go far to make the theological disputes of Thomists and Scotists a mere reflection of the rivalry between earlier mussulman schools, deserves greater attention than it has hitherto received from the historians of scholasticism.

Fr. Suermondt, O.P., contributes a long defence of the methods and principles adopted by the editors of the Prima Pars of the Leonine edition of St. Thomas, in view of the republication[1] of the celebrated recension of Dr. Baeumker made in 1891.

M. Etienne Gilson, in his "Reflexions sur la controverse S. Thomas—S. Augustin," has condensed into the compass of a few clearly stated theses what he considers to be the chief points of agreement and of difference between the two Doctors. Dr. Grabmann has a learned study of the fourteenth century averroist Taddeo da Parma, a list of whose authentic works he establishes from the MSS. Fr. Hocedez, S.J., demonstrates conclusively that Giles of Rome was not as good a Thomist as he is generally supposed to have been, and as he should have been under the circumstances. Two articles give illuminating glimpses of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century : that of Père Gorce, "La lutte *contra gentiles* à Paris au XIII^{e} siècle" and that of A. Masnovo, "Guglielmo d'Auvergne e l'Università di Parigi dal 1229 al 1231." A few others are of a more technical nature and will chiefly interest the palaeographer and textual critic.

These are a mere fraction of the contents of the two volumes, in which there is no lack of variety either in subject or in style. They are what they profess to be, *mélanges.* But they enclose a considerable amount of accurate and serious scholarship, and they are in every way worthy of the Bibliothèque Thomiste and of its distinguished director, whose personal labours have done so much to encourage original mediaeval research. P. H.

[1] In Beiträge zur Gesch. der Phil. und Theol. des Mittelalters xxv. 1928.

Books Received

ALOYSIUS, FATHER ... Close to Jesus. Picture Prayer Book (Gill, 1/6)
ALOYSIUS, AN tATHAIR ... Íosa mo Mhian. (Mac an Ghuill, 1/6).
AUBRUN, J. L. ... ... La Guerre. Poème. (Doudet).
BEDOYÈRE, M. DE LA ... The Drift of Democracy. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
BENNETT, C. A. ... ... A Study of Mysticism. (Milford, 11/6).
BENTWICH, NORMAN ... Solomon Schechter. (Allen & Unwin, 2/-).
BERDYAEV, NICHOLAS ... The Russian Revolution. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
BOPP, LINUS ... ... Wir sind die Zeit. (Herder, 4.40 M. ; 5.40 M.).
CASEY, MADELEINE ... Catalogue des Brochures aux Archives Publiques du Canada, 1493-1877. (Ottawa, $2).
CLAYTON, JOSEPH ... Saint Hugh of Lincoln. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
COUDERC, PAUL ... ... L'Architecture de l'Univers. (Gauthiers-Villars, 20 fr.).
DINSMORE, CHARLES A. ... The English Bible as Literature. (Allen & Unwin, 7/6).
DODD, C. H. ... ... Bible and Background (Allen & UNWIN, 2/6).
DONAGHY, JOHN L. ... The Flute over the Valley. (Inver Press, 1/6).
ESKELAND, LARS ... ... Ma Visite à Thérèse Neumann. (Bonne Press).
FAHEY, DENIS ... ... Kingship of Christ. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
FICHOT, E. ... ... Les Marées et leur Utilisation industrielle. (Gauthiers-Villars, 20 fr.).
FLOWER, ROBIN ... ... Poems and Translations. (Constable, 7/6).
GAFFNEY, JOHN J. ... Life of St. Brigid. (Browne & Nolan, 6d.).
GAFFNEY, M. H. ... Story of St. Patrick. (Talbot. Press, 2/6).
GARRITT, E. F. ... ... Philosophies of Beauty. From Socrates to Robert Bridges. (Clarendon Press, 15/-).
GEARY, JAMES A. ... An Irish Version of Innocent III's "De Contemptu Mundi." (Catholic University).
GLOVER, T. R. ... ... The World of the New Testament. (Cambridge Press, 6/-).
HAYWARD, FERNAND ... A History of the Popes. (Dent, 12/6).
HESELTINE, G. C. ... The English Cardinals. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
HOONAERT, RODOLPHE ... The Burning Soul of St. John of the Cross. (Burns Oates, 3/-).
HOWE, GEORGE ... ... Handbook of Classical Mythology. (Allen & Unwin, 7/6).
IRELAND, DENIS ... ... Ulster To-day and To-morrow. (Hogarth, 1/6).
JAMES, FATHER ... ... The Sacrament of Life. (Sands, 5/-).
KANTOROWICZ, ERNEST ... Frederick II, 1194-1250. (Constable, 27/-).
KING, E. J. ... ... The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land. (Methuen, 25/-).
LACOSTE, E. ... ... Les Papes à travers les Ages. Deuxième série. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr.).
LAISTNER, M. L. W. ... Thought and Letters in Western Europe, 500-900. (Methuen, 15/-).
LE BUFFE, FRANCIS P. ... Christmas. (America Press, 30 cents).
LESAAR, HEINRICH H. ... Saint Augustine. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
LOWE, J. E. ... ... Ecclesiastical Greek for Beginners. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
MACCALL, SEAMUS ... And so began the Irish Nation. (Talbot Press, 12/6).
MACGILLIVRAY, G. J. ... Through the East to Rome. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
MCKENZIE, J. G. ... Personal Problems of Conduct and Religion. (Allen & Unwin, 5/-).
MALAVAL, FRANÇOIS ... Simple Method of raising the Soul to Contemplation. (Dent, 7/6).

MANN, HORACE K. ... Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages. Vol. XVII—1288-1294. (Kegan Paul, 15/-).

MARIE-ANTOINE, R. P. ... Mes Souvenirs. (Bonne Presse, 1 fr. 50).

MESSENGER, E. C. ... Evolution and Theology. Problem of Man's Origin. (Burns Oates, 12/6).

MOREAU, GEORGES ... Etude sur l'utilisation de l'énergie des marées. (Delagrave, 25 fr.).

MUELLER-ROSS, F. ... Die irische Grenzfrage. (Berlin, pp. 89).

MYRIAM DE G. ... ... Petite Prédestinée. (Lethielleux, 7 fr.).

Ó CONAIRE, PADRAIC ... The Woman at the Window and other Stories. (Talbot Press, 3/6).

O'GRADY, JOHN ... ... Catholic Charities in the United States. (Washington: N. C. W. C., $3.00).

O'HAGAN, THOMAS ... Spain and her Daughters. (Toronto: Hunter-Rose Co., $2.00).

OSUNA, FRANCISCO DE ... The Spiritual Alphabet. (Burns Oates, 10/6).

OXENHAM, JOHN ... ... Story of the Curé d'Ars. (Longmans, 5/-).

PLUS, RAOUL ... ... Consummata. Marie Antoinette Geuser. (Burns Oates, 7/6).

PLUS RAOUL ... ... The Eucharist. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

PRICE, HARRY ... ... Regurgitation and the Duncan Mediumship. (Laboratory of Physical Research, 5/-).

PUNIET, PIERRE DE ... Le Pontifical Romain. Histoire et Commentaire. Tome II. (Desclée De Brouwer).

RAMBAUD, R. P. J. ... Grandes Figures de Prêcheurs. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.).

RAUSCHEN, GERHARD ... Patrologie. Die Schriften der Kirchenväter und ihr Lehrgehalt. (Herder, 10 M.).

REANY, WILLIAM ... S. Peter Canisius. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).

RICARD, ROBERT ... Etudes et Documents pour l'histoire missionnaire de l'Espagne et du Portugal. (Louvain: Aucam, 60 fr.).

RIONDEL, H. ... ... La Vie de Foi. (Lethielleux, 18 fr.).

ROCHE, J. S. ... ... History of Prior Park College and its Founder. (Burns Oates, 15/-).

RUSSELL, CHARLES E. ... Charlemagne. (Butterworth, 15/-).

RYAN, CORNELIUS ... Epistles of the Sundays and Festivals. With Introduction, Notes and Moral Reflections. 2 vols. (Gill, 42/-).

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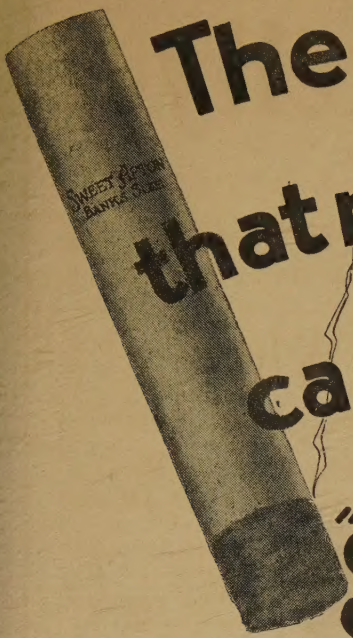

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